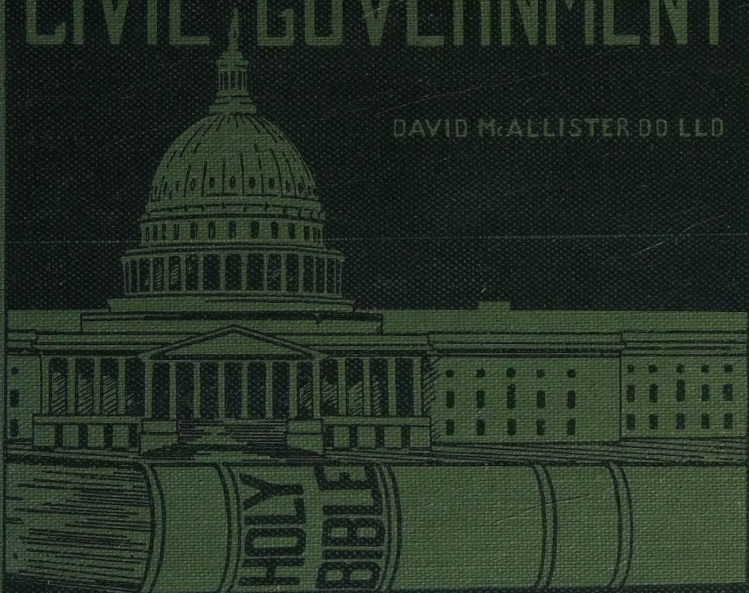


CHRISTIAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT

DAVID McALLISTER DD LL.D



THE GOVERNMENT SHALL BE UPON HIS SHOULDER

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CHRISTIAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN AMERICA

THE NATIONAL REFORM MOVEMENT

Its History and Principles

By

DAVID McALLISTER, D.D., LL.D.

Revised by

T. H. ACHESON, D.D., PH.D.

AND

WM. PARSONS, D.D.

Sixth Edition

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NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

410 Publication Building
Pittsburgh, Pa.

1927

*M*R. REDPATH was born in Randolph County, Illinois, October 24, 1842. He attended the first meeting of the National Reform Association held in Sparta, Illinois, February 6, 1863, two days after the meeting in Xenia, Ohio.

Four generations of this family are now actively interested in the work of the Association. He is a member of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and has been a subscriber to "The Christian Statesman" since its first issue in 1867

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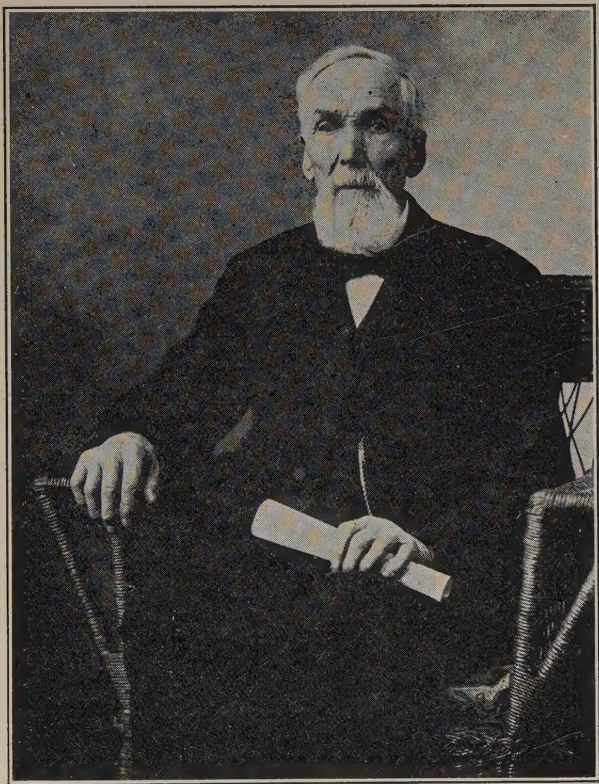
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ROBERT NEWTON REDPATH
Of Olathe, Kansas

*The only surviving charter member of the
National Reform Association*

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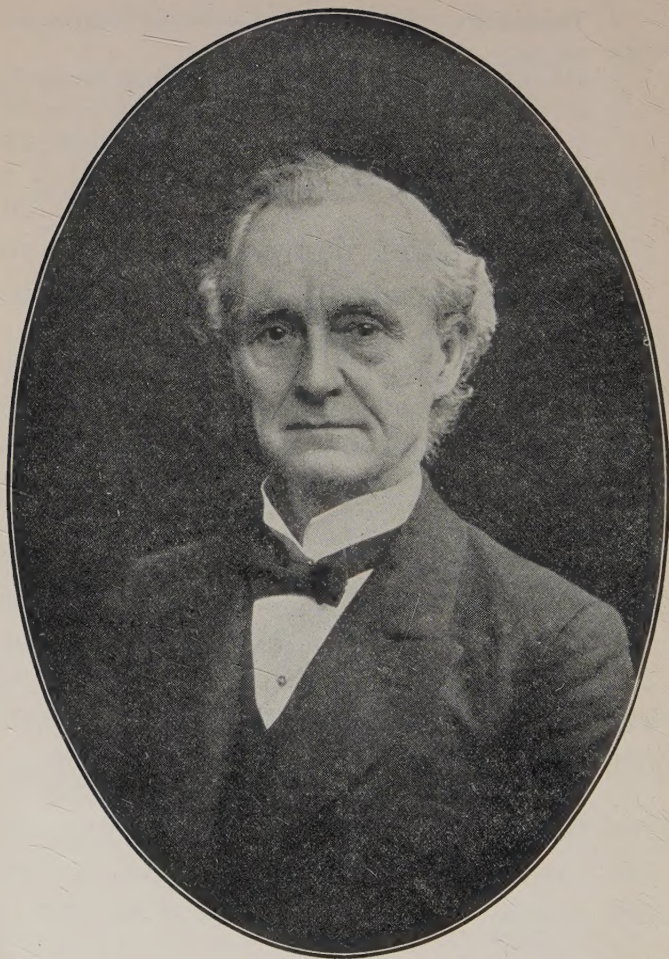
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DAVID McALLISTER, D.D., LL.D.

THE AUTHOR

David McAllister, D.D., LL.D., the author of this Manual was born in the City of New York, August 25, 1835. He was graduated from Union College in 1860. He studied theology in the Allegheny Reformed Presbyterian Seminary and Union Seminary. He was pastor, during two separate periods, of the same congregation in New York State, having been a general secretary of the National Reform Association in the interval between these pastorates. He was connected for some time with Geneva College as Vice President, and occupant of the Chair of Political Science. He was one of the founders of *The Christian Statesman*, and an editor for many years of that journal. He became the pastor of the Pittsburgh Reformed Presbyterian congregation in 1887, in which position he continued until his death, which occurred on June 13, 1907.

Dr. McAllister was a man of widely recognized ability. He was keenly logical and was possessed of much erudition and wide information. He was a man of versatile education, being a profound Biblical student, a remarkable linguist, and an authority in political philosophy. National Reform literature has been enriched by his contributions, and owes to him a debt perhaps greater than it does to any other man. This Manual is a testimony to his research in the field of jurisprudence. He was a fearless and forceful advocate in pulpit and on rostrum, of civic righteousness. It has been said of him that "he had scarcely an equal in the field of political philosophy and was a true statesman well acquainted on the testimony of eminent lawyers with the facts and principles of jurisprudence as these are embodied in the laws and court decisions in American history, one of them exclaiming at the close of a public discussion: 'He ought to be on the Supreme Bench!'"

In the progress of the National Reform Movement in our country, the author of this work occupies a unique place, not only because of his ability and effectiveness, but also because he was a pioneer. He marked out the way for others. When some future historian shall write the history of the movement he will need, in justice, to place in the foremost rank, among the few most worthy, the name of David McAllister.



Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves condemnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid: for he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister, an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only on account of wrath, but also for conscience sake. For this cause ye pay tribute also; for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honor to whom honor.—ROMANS 13: 1-7.



THOMAS H. ACHESON, D.D., PH.D.

Preface

The Sixth Edition

The present is the sixth edition of Dr. McAllister's most useful and informing book. Every new recruit to the National Reform cause finds it valuable for the perfecting of his education in this field of the social application of the Christian religion. Among the ministers of the various churches, and among Christian attorneys there is a continual demand for the book. The volume remains much the same as it has been since the publication of the second edition. Appendix A, "Suggestions for Workers," has been omitted. The second chapter in the previous edition entitled "Methods of Work," gives place in this edition to a new chapter called "History of the Movement." Certain slight changes have been made throughout the body of the book; and several prefaces in the previous edition have been revised and condensed and form the present preface. A discussion of the Treaty with Tripoli, another concerning the Supreme Court declaration that "this is a Christian nation," and President Cleveland's Thanksgiving Proclamation of 1896, all three of which appeared in the preface of the previous edition of the Manual, will now be found in Part II.

The present edition has been made possible by the generosity and energetic interest of Mrs. Ella M. George, who gave liberally of her own resources, and took the time to interest other friends of Dr. McAllister, and the National Reform Association in this piece of work.

In addition we have added President Wilson's proclamation for a Day of Prayer in 1917, President Harding's Colorado Springs address, in which he expresses the hope of a restored world, and extracts from two addresses by President Coolidge, in which he sets forth the value of religion, and the fact that American ideals were the common subject matter of the Christian pulpit long before they found expression in the Declaration of Independence.

But perhaps most of all, the book is entitled to the universal consideration of thoughtful citizens because of the historical-basis argument, and the historical-material contents. Here is argument and material which are not only indispensable as information to the Christian citizen seeking preparation for his civic duty (which is always a religious duty), but fascinating in interest for every student of our institutions. Does not every student of history rest unsatisfied until he finds the leading causes for the events he catalogues?

This historical argument and material are sorely needed because of what I cannot hesitate to call the prevailing ignorance of our Christian people about these very things, and the passionate denial of these facts and principles by many who have come to us from abroad.

And this argument and material once fairly disseminated and absorbed will stimulate the Christian consciousness of this nation, and arouse its conscience to the grievous wrong, and its instinct of self defense to the incalculable injury of withholding a definite and indisputable acknowledgment of God, which shall do its part in maintaining unimpaired the characteristic Christian features of our national life.

Much of the work of this revision was done by Dr. T. H. Acheson, who died in December of 1925. He had completed this work, but for some unaccountable reason his manuscript disappeared from the offices of the National Reform Association, about that time. When the present editor of the *Christian Statesman* took up the work he found only a very imperfect copy of Dr. Acheson's revision. Taking this as a foundation and adding some slight touches of individual judgment and preference we send out this edition of the book to the Christian citizens of our country.

WM. PARSONS,

Editor of The Christian Statesman.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A TESTIMONIAL

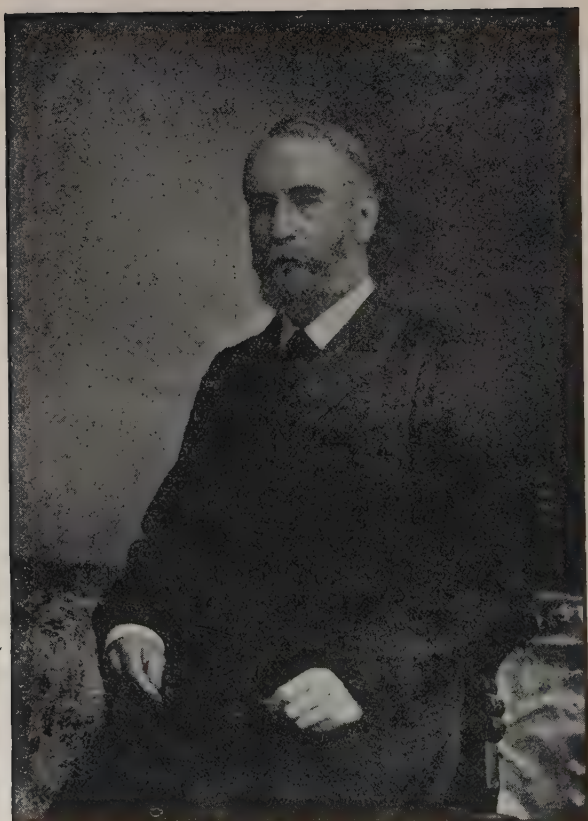
*From the Rev. Sylvester F. Scovel, D.D., LL.D.,
President of Wooster University, Wooster, O.*

In proportion as the claims of Christ are understood this noble Manual will come into demand. It derives its life from the Christ who must reign over those who reign over men, if he is ever to reign at all. Christ must be King of Nations, that He may be King of men, and He cannot be either and fail to be King of kings.

The book has been tried and proved in an early edition since 1876, and in an enlarged form since 1890 in two editions, and must now come to a yet larger and stronger life. It is masterly in its grasp and collocation of facts and principles, severely logical in its deductions, fervently Christian in its spirit, eloquent in its expression, compact without being dry, and varied without being diffusive. It is most of all convincing in its final outcome.

As a study in the philosophy of government, and in special features of our government, it deserves a high rank among books of that class. It subordinates a surprising amount of reading of the best authors to its purpose. There is not a citizen who would not be the better for reading it, and it is the imperative duty of the busiest of editors, lawyers and clergymen to read it, since they especially are the makers of public opinion in all that concerns the public welfare and the public conscience, for these can be secured and nourished only by a vital and effective relationship to the God of our fathers.

Every chapter is impressive. The story of the National Reform Movement as here told shows an exact adaptation of Christian patriotism to reach a great and central need and repair a great national wrong. The basis of the right view in the law of self defense is most arousingly shown. The answers to objections are clear and sufficient. The basis in Political Philosophy is suggestive and profound.



SYLVESTER F. SCOVEL, D.D., LL.D.

Preface

To the First Edition

The first edition of this Handbook of American Christian Civil Government, under the title of *The National Reform Manual*, was intended specially for the use of the secretaries and other active workers of the National Reform Association. It was welcomed, however, into a much wider circle, and was long ago exhausted. Frequent calls for the Manual led the Executive Committee of the National Reform Association to ask for the preparation of a new edition. In response to this request, this edition is now given to the public.

It has been thought best to cover the ground in this edition much more thoroughly than before, and yet keep the book within the limits of a Manual. The aim has been in this enlarged edition, as in the former one, to furnish such historical data, and such authorities on the main principles of political science, as will be helpful, in practical efforts, to the advocates of Christian civil government. All the citations are given with the utmost care from original sources. The quotations in the third and fourth chapters are selected from a work on which many years of labor have been bestowed, and which, it is hoped, will be ready for publication in another year or two at farthest, entitled *Christianity and Civil Government in the United States*. In this much larger work the whole subject is discussed with considerable fulness of historical illustration and philosophic argument. The present edition of the Manual may prepare the way for the more exhaustive treatise.

This little book, like the Movement of which it briefly gives the history and principles, was born of intense love of country, and earnest desire to do something for her welfare. These days of peace do not call

patriots to the battle-field. The God of nations is blessing us with rest from war. But the Christian patriot's ear catches stirring calls to more strenuous and momentous conflicts than any "battle of the warriors," with its "confused noise and garments rolled in blood." The enemies of our national Christianity are both powerful and active. They have begun their attack. Our Christian institutions of government are at stake. Friends are rallying for their defense. And the same love of country that would summon the patriot to the field of battle, summons him now to the field of moral conflict, where the friends and foes of our American national Christianity are deploying and skirmishing, and must soon come to the decisive engagement.

Under the standard, "Pro Christo et Patria," "For Christ and our country," this Manual is sent forth into the midst of this irrepressible moral struggle, in the hope and with the prayer that it may contribute something, however little, to the triumph of the right.

DAVID McALLISTER.

From Dr. Francis E. Clark, President of the Societies of Christian Endeavor, Boston, Mass.

It seems to me that The Manual of Christian Civil Government, which you have so kindly sent me, will be of much help in instilling into the rising generation the principles of civil government, their Biblical, historical and philosophical basis. It will prove a storehouse of good things to those who are preparing to take their place among the rulers of our nation, namely, the common people of the next generation.

CHAPTER I

Origin And Nature Of The Movement

THE National Reform Movement is organized opposition to the encroachments of the secular theory of civil government. This theory is summed up in the statement that civil government has nothing to do with religion but to let it alone. And by "religion" it means not only the Church, with her doctrinal systems of theology, her sacraments and discipline, but every religious idea.

At its settlement, and for many years afterward, our country, like the great nation from which it had its birth, linked its government with the Church. This American union of Church and State was gradually severed. But the severance of this union was not intended to be, and was not in fact, the breaking up of all connection between our government and religion. We abandoned old world monarchism, and old world union of Church and State; but the American people no more intended to swing over into the extreme of secular or non-religious civil government than into that of anarchy or no government at all. As Dr. Francis Lieber, for many years the honored Professor of Political Science in Columbia College, New York City, has well said: "The great mission which this country has to perform, with reference to Europe, requires the total divorce of State and Church—not religion."

The National Reform Movement stands on this platform. It opposes both secularism and the union of Church and State, but advocates Christianity in the State. It seeks to organize all the friends of Christian civil government against the encroachments and revolutionary demands of secularism. For in this conflict the advocates

of secularism are the assailants. Their watchwords are "discontinue," "repeal," "abrogate," "abolish." They find the Bible in our public schools, and demand its expulsion. They hear the voice of prayer in our halls of legislation, and demand that it be hushed. The oath, with its solemn appeal to God, is administered to witnesses and jurors in our courts, and to our officers of government, and the demand is made that it shall be abolished. In these and many other ways the government has been and is connected with Christianity, without any union of Church and State; and this existing connection of State and religion, which secularism labors to destroy, the National Reform Association strives to defend and maintain.

In the conflict between two such opposing theories of government it could hardly fail that appeal would be made to the fundamental law of the nation—its written Constitution. The secular theory has always boasted of this instrument as its stronghold. And while other influences had an important share in preventing the Convention that framed the Constitution from giving to it a clear and distinctively Christian character, it must be admitted that the influence of political secularism was prominent in the matter. While on the one hand, then, the appeal is and has been made to the Constitution of the United States for the purpose of abolishing the Christian institutions of the government, it is not surprising, on the other hand, that many of the friends of Christian government should have long ago deplored the religious defect of the Constitution, and sought to remedy it as a means of maintaining and promoting the Christian elements of our national life.

It is also clear, from the impressive array of testimony against the omission of all acknowledgment of God from the Constitution, that many of our best citizens

saw in this omission great dishonor done to the Ruler of nations. The accumulated testimonies of these witnesses form a complete chain from the time of the framing and adopting of the Constitution to the organized movement for its amendment. A most noteworthy fact is that these testimonies increased in number and intensity when the nation was under severe chastisement. The war of 1812 brought distresses that led many to look to God. In that day of calamity not a few contrite voices confessed our national sin of forgetfulness of Him who had given us our being, and preserved us as a nation, and earnest calls were made for national reformation and the religious amendment of our Constitution. But with the removal of the trouble came forgetfulness of our Helper. Our sense of sin in failing to acknowledge Him was "as a morning cloud and as the early dew." And for nearly fifty years, years of almost unexampled material advancement, while the Lord never left Himself without witnesses, there were comparatively few voices heard, and these were almost altogether unheeded. But once more the Ruler of nations set His throne of judgment. The war of the rebellion burst upon our proud and wealthy nation. We were plunged into deep waters. The floods of divine wrath beat against us. The very foundations of the nation were threatened, voices were raised throughout the land in trumpet-tones of warning. The rod of chastisement had once more brought us to our senses.

Is it any wonder that many began to think it was time to take some practical steps toward remedying the acknowledged defect? If we should defer this until another season of judgment, who could tell whether God's patience might not be exhausted? To confess sin in time of trial, and make no effort at amendment when the calamities were mercifully removed, could only fur-

ther provoke the divine displeasure. With such thoughts as these coming more or less clearly to the consciousness of many of our citizens, active measures were at length adopted with a view to national reformation, and the corresponding religious amendment of the United States Constitution.

The birth of the movement for this purpose may be dated from the 4th day of February, 1863. A convention for prayer and Christian conference, with special reference to the state of the country, had been called to meet in Xenia, Ohio, on February 3rd, to continue in session three days. A programme had been published, setting forth the various subjects that were to engage the attention of the convention. Among them was the subject of "Religion in the Nation." When the convention assembled, it was found to include representatives from eleven different denominations of Christians, and from seven of the States of the Union. On the second day of the sessions of the Convention, when the subject of "Religion in the Nation" came up for consideration, John Alexander, Esq., then of Xenia, presented a paper in which the sins of the nation were confessed, and the importance of repentance and reformation insisted upon. After speaking of President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, then recently issued, and the hopeful prospect of an anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution, the paper proceeds as follows:

"We regard the neglect of God and His law, by omitting all acknowledgment of them in our Constitution, as the crowning, original sin of the nation, and slavery as one of its natural outgrowths. Therefore, the most important step remains yet to be taken—to amend the Constitution so as to acknowledge God and the authority of His law; and the object of this paper is to suggest to this Convention the propriety of considering

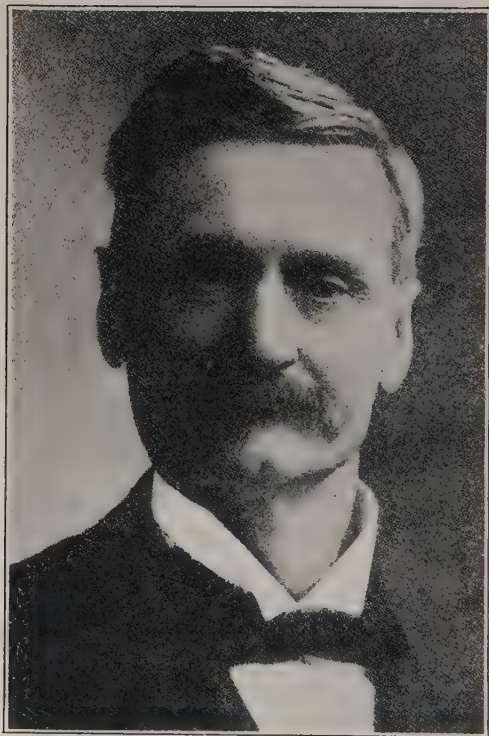
this subject, and of preparing such an amendment to the Constitution as they may think proper to propose in accordance with its provisions.

"In order to bring the subject more definitely before the Convention, we suggest the following as an outline of what seems to us to be needed in the preamble of that instrument, making it read as follows (proposed amendment in brackets):

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES [recognizing the being and attributes of Almighty God, the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures, the law of God as the paramount rule, and Jesus, the Messiah, the Saviour and Lord of all], in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

This paper was referred to a committee who reported favorably upon it. This committee was composed of representatives of all the denominations gathered in the Convention. After some discussion, their report, recommending the approval of the spirit and design of the paper, indorsing the action which it proposed, and ordering its publication, was adopted. It is but just to put on record here the effective service rendered in this discussion by the Rev. Dr. H. H. George, President of Geneva College, Beaver Falls, Pa., and the Rev. Samuel Collins, D.D., of Allegheny.

It is not a little remarkable that just about the same time, in a State farther west, another Convention, of a kindred character, took similar action. Without any knowledge whatever of the Xenia meeting, a Convention of Christians of various denominations met in Sparta, Illinois, on February 6, 1863, just two days after



H. H. GEORGE, D.D., LL.D.

the adoption of the foregoing paper. At this gathering a series of resolutions was adopted, in which a pledge was given to "labor to bring the nation to repentance toward God, and to a faithful administration of the government according to the principles of the Word of God." This Convention adjourned to meet on February 24, some two weeks later, to adopt a plan of operations. At this meeting an association was organized, one express object of which was to bring the nation to an acknowledgment of the authority of Christ and His law.

A Convention was called in the city of Pittsburgh in the spring of 1863, shortly after these two just mentioned. This gathering was well attended and arrangements were made for a similar meeting to be held in Pittsburgh on the 4th of July in the same year. Fewer people were present on this occasion, but plans were made for another convention to be held in the city of Allegheny in the year 1864, which was largely attended. The National Reform Association was then and there organized and a Constitution was adopted.

The object of The National Reform Association was defined to be in general,—the preservation of the Christian Institutions of this country; such as our civil Sabbath; the Bible in the public schools; the securing of a uniform marriage and divorce law, conformed to the law of Christ; the retention of the oath in our courts; chaplains in our army and navy, etc. Also to secure an amendment to the Federal Constitution that would in suitable terms recognize the authority of Jesus Christ as the Governor of the Nation, thus placing the Nation in right relation with God and at the same time affording a legal basis for the Christian Institutions of our country.

The permanent organization of the National Reform Association was completed by the election of its

officers. Mr. John Alexander with whose Christian and patriotic action the movement is said to have originated, was appropriately chosen the first President of the National Association. Zadok Street, Esq. of Salem, Ohio, a member of the Society of Friends, was elected Vice-President.

Members of several other denominations were on the list of officers, giving to the Association at the very beginning that unsectarian character which it has always maintained. Special mention ought to be made here of the eminent service rendered in this first distinctively National Reform Convention, by the eloquent J. H. M'Ilvaine, D.D., LL.D., at that time Professor of Political Science in Princeton College, whose voice was so often heard in these assemblies.

A large and influential Committee was appointed to wait upon President Lincoln for an official endorsement of the work proposed by the Association. He responding said that in as far as he had opportunity to understand the purpose of the Association, he heartily favored it. Some time previous to this a number of Christian men had waited upon Mr. Lincoln and had requested of him the accomplishment of two measures. First, the abolition of American slavery, and second, the adoption of a suitable recognition of the authority of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Constitution of the United States. To a few of the men who were on the Committee of the National Reform Association he privately said, "Gentlemen, in your former visit you requested of me two things. During the first term of my administration I was able to secure your first request. It is my hope that during my second term I will be able to secure your second request."

Before these events there had been formed an organization known as The Liberal League, which was de-

manding that all the Christian Institutions connected with our Government should be immediately and unflinchingly removed. These people were especially hostile to the Bible in the public schools; our Civil Sabbath; the oath in our courts; chaplains in the Army and Navy, etc. The Liberal League published a paper called "The Index" and the editor was a Mr. Abbott.

At this early date many Christian people had accepted the secular theory of civil government, viz., that governments are not subject to God, but derive their authority solely from the consent of the governed. While these classes of people were not allied with The Liberal League, yet their influence tended in that direction. Thus we had in the year 1864 the two organizations in this country contending against each other in an honorable struggle for what each organization believed to be the right.

It remains to be noted in this connection that the National Reform Movement is a movement of citizens, irrespective of denominational connection. It has never been a movement of churches, or of church members, as such, but of citizens who believe in the Christian principles of civil government. It is well known that a number of those who have rendered most earnest and effective service in this cause are members of the Universalist and Unitarian churches. Others are not professed church members at all. The great body of the members of the Association are members also of the different denominations of Christians. But the cordial co-operation of all these classes of citizens proves conclusively not only that the movement is unsectarian, but also that it is not in the interest of any ecclesiastical system of doctrine or government. It is the united effort of citizens who are convinced that the highest welfare of the nation is bound up in our distinctively Christian in-

stitutions, and who see these endangered by the assaults of secularism; of citizens who, while they believe that the cause of Christ in every way will be promoted by the triumph of the principles of Christian civil government, yet mainly for the sake of the nation and from motives of the purest patriotism, seek to anchor our beloved country in her Constitution and laws and practice to the throne and government of Christ himself.



CHAPTER II

History of The National Reform Association

From the first the work of the Association was both conservative and reformatory. It never failed to stand in the breach when any of the Christian institutions of our government, such as Sabbath laws, or the Bible and Unsectarian Religious Instruction in our Common Schools, were assailed and needed sturdy defense. At the same time it used its utmost efforts to reform every abuse and wrong in our public life, and to go to the root of the matter by such a radical reformation as would put the nation in avowed allegiance to Christ as King of kings, and practical obedience to His law.

The Christian institutions of the government of our States and nation involve three great fundamental principles. The oath, as an appeal to God; prayer in legislative assemblies; the services of Christian ministers in the army and navy, and in institutions such as those at West Point and Annapolis, as well as in asylums, prisons, and reformatories; days of fasting and thanksgiving; the Bible in the public schools; religious acknowledgments in our State constitutions;—all these rest upon political and moral, or politico-moral ideas. These are the clear and definite ideas that the nation exercises an authority which comes ultimately from God; that the Bible gives law for national as well as for individual and ecclesiastical life; and that Christ rules in the moral laws of his religion as Supreme Governor among the nations. These are not ecclesiastical or church principles, but principles of civil and national life. Resting as they do at the basis of distinctively civil, and not ecclesiastical institutions, they demand suitable national acknowledgment. Such acknowledgment the National Reform Association seeks to secure as an undeniable legal basis for

the Christian institutions of civil government which are essential to our national welfare and perpetuity.

That this constitutional acknowledgment is sought as a means to the end of securing and maintaining practical national Christianity is manifest from the entire history of the Association.

Meetings

The holding of conventions for the consideration of Christian civil principles and problems has been one of the distinct and effective methods of the National Reform Movement. In all of these conventions the aim has been to compel public attention to the great problems of national life, and specially to the different aspects of the subject of religion and State. The earlier conventions gave more particular attention to the religious defect of the United States Constitution, while at the same time many related subjects were carefully discussed by some of the ablest speakers in our country. Gradually the scope of these public gatherings was broadened, until the conferences on the principles of civil government, held within recent years by the Association, have covered all the great social problems of the day. At present nearly every phase of public morals and national religion has its place on the programs of the Association.

A vast number of conventions, institutes, and other meetings, district, county, state and national, have been held in the interests of the Movement in the past half century and in widely separated parts of the country. One of these most worthy of mention was the Quarter Centennial National Convention held at Pittsburgh in April, 1889.

"This Convention was in perfect consistency with the whole character of the National Reform Movement

for the twenty-five years of its history. It was calm, earnest, intellectual, and devout. The character of the assembly and the character of the addresses were in harmony. No audience, probably, ever listened to more thorough or more eloquent discussions, and no audience ever appreciated or enjoyed addresses more thoroughly.

"The most matter-of-fact report of the proceedings must give the impression of a great meeting. It was great in numbers, though the vast hall in which it was held was at no single session completely filled; great in the character of the men and women who composed it; great in the impression which it made on all who came within reach of its influence.

"The loving zeal of a band of Christian women in Pittsburgh and Allegheny had most appropriately and beautifully decorated the hall in which the Convention sat. The front of the spacious platform was covered with palms and potted plants. Two easels on the platform bore portraits of Prof. Taylor Lewis, of Union College, and A. A. Hodge, D.D., of Princeton, New Jersey, while on the walls on either side were hung large and excellent portraits of Bishop Kerfoot, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Bishop Simpson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; the Rev. J. R. W. Sloane, D.D., the Rev. A. M. Milligan, D.D., the Rev. James M. Willson, D.D., the Rev. John T. Pressly, D.D., the Rev. James Rodgers, D.D., the Rev. Joseph T. Cooper, D.D., Samuel A. Sterrett, M.D., and the Rev. E. E. Swift, D.D. Over the platform in letters of evergreen were the words:

NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION

WELCOME TO QUARTER-CENTENNIAL

1864.

1889.

And beneath, on a background of gold, appeared the

words, 'Pro Christo et Patria.' To the right appeared the inscription: 'Christ, the King of Nations,' and to the left, 'Remember the Sabbath Day to Keep it Holy.' At the rear of the hall, across the front of the gallery, ran the sentence, 'A Scriptural Divorce Law for the Nation,' and underneath, the words, 'In God We Trust,' while on either side were displayed the mottoes, many of them charmingly wrought in colors, 'Righteousness Exalteth a Nation,' 'The Bible in the Public Schools,' 'The Blair School Amendment,' 'The National Sabbath Rest Bill,' 'For God and Home and Native Land,' 'For the Purity and Permanence of the Family.' To sit amid such surroundings, in fellowship with a great assembly of earnest Christian and patriotic citizens, listening to addresses which were all thoughtful, instructive, and inspiring, and many of which were surpassingly eloquent, was a rare privilege and a great blessing. The moral effect of this assembly on the people of the country was deep and lasting."

In the early years of the Movement other national conventions were held in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Cincinnati. Other considerable conventions have been held in Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Cleveland, and Columbus. Many state conventions have been held.

World Meetings

The work has, however, much broadened in recent years. The National Reform Movement has become international. Realizing that the principles of Christ's civil kingship are for all nations, the Association has sought to call the citizens of other governments into its councils.

The First World's Christian Citizenship Conference was called by this organization, and held in the city of

Philadelphia, in the month of November, 1910. With a vision truly statesmanlike and Christian in its breadth and forward look, those who prepared the call for this great convention referred to the efforts of Christian people in this country to maintain and promote the influence of the Christian principles of civil government, to the difficulties encountered in a secular political philosophy, in a sordid materialism, in immigration, to assaults made on our laws for the protection of the Sabbath, Christian education, and family relations and to the great evil of intemperance. Attention was also called to the fact that against these false theories and practical evils it has steadily maintained that Christ is King of nations; that nations are morally bound to do right; that the moral laws of the Christian religion ought to determine the acts of nations; that the American people are under special obligation to govern themselves in a Christian manner; and that efforts by Christian people in this great purpose have not been without success.

The call continues: "Out of all this struggle and controversy has sprung the suggestion for a World's Christian Citizenship Conference. We perceive that the action of the government toward the weekly rest; Christian legislation concerning the family; and the relation of public education to morality and religion, are living questions throughout Christendom. In other than Christian lands, the Christian missionaries are the heralds of a new social order. They are laying the foundations of Christian commonwealths and nations, as well as Christian families and the Christian Church. These questions will in due time become world questions. Strength and help will come to friends of the right in all countries, from comparison of views, from studying together fundamental principles and the application of

these principles, and from united effort. Therefore we have ventured to issue this call."

This Conference, under the blessing of God, proved a most remarkable and encouraging event. It represented many of our states and also many foreign countries. Some of the most eminent Christian leaders in the world were present. Large, interested, and enthusiastic audiences listened to the proceedings during the five days of the Conference. One of the evening sessions was held in the Academy of Music, and the vast audience assembled there heard most radical and aggressive proposals for national reformation.

Out of this Philadelphia Conference developed the purpose on the part of the Association to call similar and more widely representative meetings. A Second World's Christian Citizenship Conference was held at Portland, Oregon, June 29-July 6, 1913.

The first call to this Portland Conference contains these significant words: "We who issue this Call are deeply persuaded that the Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed Saviour of men, saves men in all their interests and in all their relations; that there are no human interests or relations which are in sorer need of His saving grace and power than those which lie in the civil sphere; and that in their acceptance of the forgiveness which is His to grant and in submission to His authority lie the ultimate safety and welfare and glory of all nations."

As indicative of the deep and wide-spread interest in this conference, mention only is made in passing of the favorable attitude of many prominent religious bodies as expressed by them in some formal action concerning it. The resolution of the General Conference of the M.E. Church said that their conference "ever ready to serve in any cause looking to the betterment of mankind," sees in the Portland meeting "an assembly

that will attract the attention and thoughtful consideration of active factors in the world's progress;" and the Northern Baptist Convention, welcoming the call for the Conference, saw in it "an opportunity to consider the question of citizenship facing the nations of Christendom, to suggest ways whereby the principles of Christ may be made regnant in human society, and to mass the conscience of the Christian nations in behalf of social and political righteousness." The Federal Council of Churches, in noting the approach of this Conference and its program, said: "In the belief that all these questions are fundamentally moral questions, and that no permanent adjustment of them can be reached except as they are approached in the spirit and light of Christianity, and solved according to the laws and teachings of the Holy Scripture, the Council expresses its profound interest in the purposes and the success of the said Conference."

The Portland Conference proved to be one of the most significant meetings of its kind ever held in the world. In the value and variety of themes considered, in the widely representative character of the speakers, in their ability and prominence, and in the vast audiences, exceeding even ten thousand on one occasion, this World's Conference stands as one of the great assemblies in history. It marks a distinct advance in the Kingdom of God on earth.

An important series of meetings, largely attended, was held, in preparation for another World Conference, on the North Side, Pittsburgh, in June 1918. A Declaration of Principles was adopted at this meeting. It contained the words: "The danger of the hour lies in the possibility that mankind, in a passion to rear new superstructures to hide the ruins of the war, will forget to build upon the sure foundations laid of old. Jesus

Christ is the King of the nations. His law is the rightful law of their existence. No nation ever fell while it was right with God. Peace will be maintained only by world righteousness. . . . To establish the justice of Jesus, thereby attaining the peace of Jesus, is the demand upon all Christian citizenship of the world."

The Third World's Christian Citizenship Conference was held in Pittsburgh, November 9-16, in 1919. Forty-one nations were represented officially and unofficially. Nine world commissions had places on the program; Immigration, Labor and Industry, the Family, Public Education, the Sabbath, Mormonism, Intemperance, Social Purity, and International Peace. There were twenty-seven regular sessions of the Conference. Overflow and down-town meetings were also held. The buildings used were the Syria Mosque, Memorial Hall, Carnegie Music Hall, and First Presbyterian Church. The total attendance was estimated at 58,000. Generous friends in Pittsburgh contributed over \$50,000 for the expenses of the occasion. The goal of this whole movement was expressed on the Conference program in the words: "The government shall be upon His shoulder, and of the increase of His government and of peace there shall be no end."

Another large and effective assembly, in preparation for a Fourth World's Christian Citizenship Conference, was held at Winona Lake, Indiana, July 1-8, 1923. The way for this series of meetings was peculiarly prepared by the marked Christian atmosphere of this community and summer assembly; and also by the fact, worthy of careful record here, that the National Reform Association for many years conducted, in a building of its own, an annual institute at this place. Able speakers year after year had presented at these institutes discussions on themes vital to our national welfare.

This latter, larger Conference of 1923 at Winona was noteworthy in the history of the National Reform Movement. With a broad and discriminating program, with many speakers of prominence in both civil and ecclesiastical spheres, with audiences reaching seven thousand, this Conference continued steadily throughout eight days and as many as twenty-five separate sessions, with a depth of interest and spirituality rarely, if ever, equalled at similar gatherings. A touch of international coloring was given the Conference by the presence of a number of foreign speakers on the program. The central theme of the Conference was the exaltation of Jesus Christ. One of the striking features of this Conference was the sending by ocean cable of an address to the King of England, the President of France, the President of Germany, and a number of other foreign rulers.

Publicity

Newspaper publicity has been one of the most potent agencies in the work of National Reform. While the hearing secured for its advocates on the rostrum has been most important, these audiences have been much increased by the use of the public press. Daily and weekly papers, secular and religious journals, have given much attention to meetings and conventions, and the themes discussed there. In the providence of God the press has done a great deal to disseminate the principles of this movement, and recently there has been a vast increase in journalistic reference to National Reform work.

Very extensive work was done for a time in this connection through the publicity bureau of C. H. Congdon of Philadelphia. The Association afterwards established its own publicity department; and this branch of the work was specially developed and used as essential

to the success of the Movement. Dr. Larimore C. Denise was for a time in charge of this department, and Dr. Charles Stelzle has on special occasions been secured for the work of publicity.

Literature

It would be impossible to put on record with any degree of detail and accuracy the nature and amount of literature, transient and permanent, that has been issued in connection with the National Reform Movement. A vast number of leaflets and pamphlets have been issued. Other more pretentious publications have been sent out. The report of the New York Convention in 1899 is an attractive cloth-bound volume of 143 pages. The proceedings of the World's Conferences at Philadelphia, Portland, and Pittsburgh have been printed in permanent volumes. "Sabbath Laws in the United States," another publication on the use of the Bible in the public schools, "The Collapse of Christless Civilizations," and "The Moral Theory of the State," all four by Dr. R. C. Wylie, are among the valuable publications of the Association. The most recent publication is a book entitled "The Bible Indispensable In Education" written by the Rev. S. M. Ellis, D.D., of Memphis, Tenn. This is a strong plea for both the reading of the Bible in the Public Schools and an adequate moral and religious instruction in them which is based on the teachings of the Bible.

Five editions of this Manual have preceded the present one. Recently there were sent out in one year a total of 7,500,000 pages of literature in addition to about 8,000,000 pages of *The Christian Statesman*. During the same year 232,668 letters of different kinds were also sent out.

The Christian Statesman

No history of the National Reform Movement would be complete without prominent mention of the journal which for many years has been the organ of the Association.

The Christian Statesman was founded by Dr. David McAllister and Dr. T. P. Stevenson in 1867, the first number being issued in September of that year. For about four years the paper was issued as a semi-monthly; from 1871 until July 1902, it was issued as a weekly. Under the editorial management of its founders its home was in Philadelphia till January, 1892. In November, 1891, it passed into the hands of a new management, and in January, 1892, was moved to Pittsburgh, Pa. Dr. W. F. Crafts, who had been a contributing editor for some time, became editor under the new management, with Dr. J. T. McCrory as associate editor. Dr. W. J. Robinson was also a contributing editor for some years. In November, 1894, Dr. McAllister became the sole owner of the paper and conducted it as a personal enterprise until July, 1902, when he presented it to the Executive Committee of the National Reform Association, stipulating, however, that it should always be conducted as an advocate of the Christian Principles of Civil government and of the Christian Amendment of the National Constitution. Since it became the property of the Association it has been conducted as a monthly magazine. Upon the acceptance of Dr. McAllister's gift, Drs. T. P. Stevenson and R. C. Wylie were appointed editors by the Executive Committee. After the death of Dr. Stevenson in 1912, Dr. Wylie became editor-in-chief. Rev. I. A. Blackwood filled this position for two years and was succeeded by Dr. J. S. Martin, with Drs. T. H. Acheson and R. C. Wylie as associate editors. Dr. Wylie again became editor-in-chief in 1923, but on account of his ardu-

The
**CHRISTIAN
STATESMAN**

Founded in 1867
Jesus Christ Is Civil Governor among the Nations

ITS KEYNOTE

Lift up your heads, O ye gates;
And be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors:
And the King of Glory shall come in.—PSALM 24:9

* * * *

All Hail the power of Jesus name
Let angels prostrate fall.
Bring forth the royal diadem
And crown Him Lord of all.

* * *

ITS EDITORS

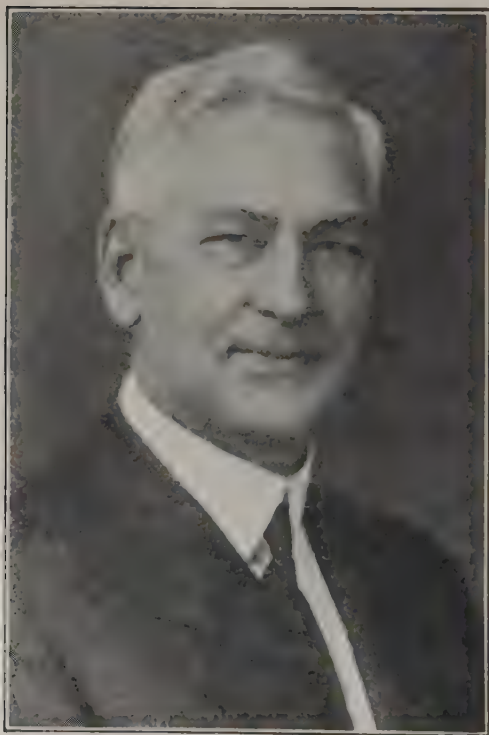
Past and Present

DAVID McALLISTER
THOMAS P. STEVENSON
WILBUR F. CRAFTS
RICHARD CAMERON WYLIE

I. A. BLACKWOOD
JAMES S. MARTIN
FRANK J. CANNON
WILLIAM PARSONS



RICHARD CAMERON WYLIE, D.D



WM. PARSONS, D.D.

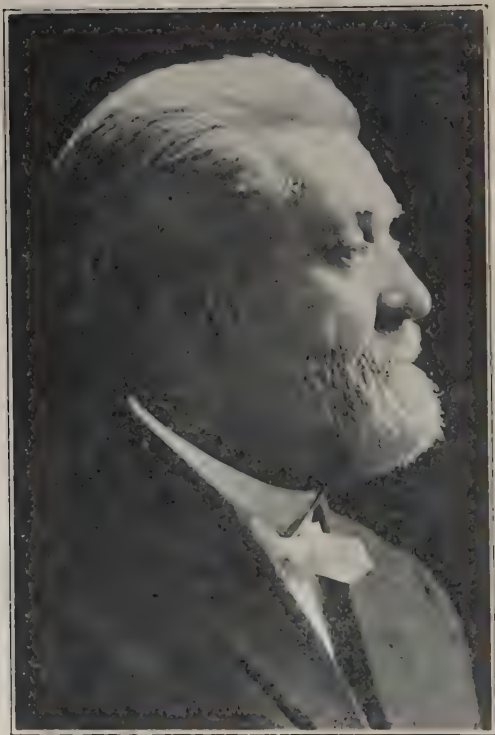
ous work in the Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary, in which institution he has been a professor since September, 1908, he resigned the editorship in June, 1926.

During the period since the paper became the property of the Association, there have been connected with the editorial staff, besides those already mentioned, Dr. S. F. Scovel, Dr. W. I. Wishart, Dr. John A. Henderson, Dr. J. D. Rankin, Dr. William Parsons, Ex-Senator Frank J. Cannon and Mrs. Dorothy C. Hyde.

On January 1st, 1926, the Rev. Wm. Parsons, D.D., became Managing Editor and in June, upon the retirement of Dr. Wylie, he became Editor and now holds that position.

The magazine is now a forty-eight page monthly, and is issued from the Central office of the National Reform Association in the Publication Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

While other papers have earnestly advocated and defended the cause of National Reform, this magazine has been the Official Organ of the National Reform Association. It has chronicled the steps of progress, it has presented argument, illustration and application on all aspects of the movement. Many of the finest writers on religion and Christian political science have contributed to its columns. Among these have been men like Doctors J. T. McCrory and W. J. Robinson and the Rev. Irvin A. Blackwood. Its Editorial and Outlook departments have been ably conducted and have been an accurate reflector of the moral and religious life of the nation.



THOMAS P. STEVENSON, D.D.

Dr. T. P. Stevenson

Perhaps no more fitting place than this could be found in this Manual for reference to one of the former editors of *The Christian Statesman*, who was also one of the most prominent workers in the National Reform Movement, the late Dr. Thomas Patton Stevenson, who died at his home in Philadelphia, on October 1, 1912. Dr. Stevenson was the pastor of one congregation for nearly half a century, and was a zealous worker in his own denomination; but much of the energy of his life was devoted to the cause of National Reform. He was a man of fine personal presence, of finished education, of breadth of culture, of never failing dignity, and of gentle courtesy. With elegance of diction, clearness of statement, and earnestness of conviction, he presented during many years the claims of Christian civic righteousness in the columns of *The Christian Statesman*, and on the public platform. Considered in the light of his ability as a thinker, a speaker and a writer; of his breadth of knowledge on public questions in general; of his treatment of them in relation to his country's welfare and the Kingdom of God, Dr. Stevenson must be regarded, without exaggeration, as among the really great Christian statesmen this country has produced.



J. S. MARTIN, D.D.

The Speakers Department

The employment of public speakers to work in the field in the interests of the movement has been one of the essential and important features of the Association's work from the beginning. In the early stages the work was to a large extent voluntary, and this has always been an element of strength to the Association that it has been able to command such a large amount of volunteer work. With the growth of the movement the number of salaried workers inevitably increased. For years this work was carried on by the secretaries who answered all calls for addresses and conferences that came from the field. But in time the Association outgrew this method. In 1909, the Rev. J. S. Martin, D.D., was elected Superintendent of the National Reform Association, and held the position until 1924. Under his supervision the Speakers' Bureau was organized. This Bureau has been successively under the direction of Rev. B. L. Scott, J. S. McGaw and J. M. Tibbetts. The Rev. J. S. Martin, D.D., President of the Association, with the assistance of Miss Gladys M. Willson, of Rock Island, Ill.; is now in charge of this department.

It has commanded speakers of national standing and has greatly extended the work and usefulness. It has at the present time a field force of ten who are devoting their time to this work. Prominent among those engaged in the work today are Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepard, of Salt Lake City, Mr. W. S. Fleming, of Chicago, Ill., and the Hon. Charles F. Swift, D.D., of Philadelphia, Pa. The work of these secretaries and speakers is not to be measured simply by the public meetings which they hold. They speak also on the Lord's day in the pulpits of different denominations; and some of their most effective work is done by personal interviews with leading



MR. W. S. FLEMING

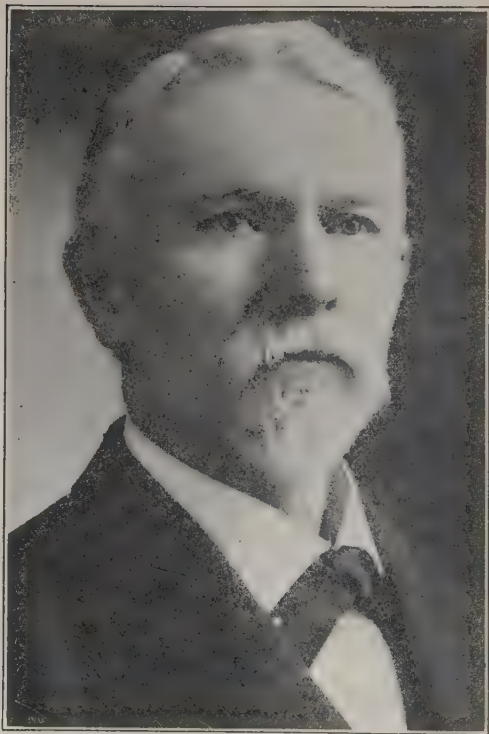


CHARLES F. SWIFT, D.D.

men. A large part of the work is done through these speakers. Sending out advance agents, it secures openings for its speakers, and thus covers systematically a large amount of territory. The success of the whole Movement depends to a considerable extent, upon these workers; the dissemination of principles, the winning of a constituency, the circulation of *The Christian Statesman*; and the securing of funds for the prosecution of the work.

Friends of the Cause

Affiliated more or less closely with the National Reform Movement have been some of the noblest names connected with Christian philanthropy and patriotism in our country. During the more than half century of its existence the Association has drawn its friends into unity as Christian citizens, irrespective of denominational connections. Its spirit is hostile to sectarianism. It is an exemplification of tolerant, unsectarian Christianity. Worthy in this connection of special mention are: Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Sr., and Bishops McIlvaine, Eastburn and Kerfoot, of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Bishops Gilbert Haven and Simpson, Judge Hagans, and President Joseph Cummings, of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Drs. Charles Hodge, A. A. Hodge, J. H. McIlvaine, I. N. Hays, Jonathan Edwards and Robert F. Coyle, of the Presbyterian Church; President J. H. Seelye, President Charles Finney and Dr. Jonathan Blanchard, of the Congregational Church; Dr. W. W. Evarts of the Baptist Church; Dr. A. A. Miner, of the Universalist Church; Drs. Sloane, J. M. Willson, D. B. Willson, A. M. Milligan of the Reformed Presbyterian Church; Drs. Pressly, Kerr, and W. J. Robinson of the United Presbyterian Church; and Prof. Taylor Lewis of the Dutch Reformed Church.



MR. ROBERT M. DOWNIE

Any history of the National Reform Association written during the last quarter of a century would be incomplete without mention of Mr. Robert M. Downie, of Beaver Falls, Pa. He brought to the service of the Association a trained mind, a cultural development, a business experience and capacity, which was one of its greatest assets. His pen enriched the literature of this period and his sagacious advice as a member of the Board of Directors, from its organization to the time of his death in 1924; gave strength and vigor to the work. His unfailing generosity was one of the sources of revenue which enabled the National Reform Association to so greatly enlarge its work during the last twenty-five years.

A list of Presidents of the Association will help to show the lofty, patriotic aim of the movement, as well as its broad and unsectarian character. Following John Alexander, of the United Presbyterian Church, a man of zeal and generosity, was Dr. Daniel C. Eddy, of the Baptist Church. Next was the Hon. William Strong, of the Presbyterian Church, an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Bench. Then followed the Hon. Felix R. Brunot, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, who continued the honored head of the Association until called away by death in 1897. His successor was the Rev. Sylvester F. Scovel, D.D., LL.D., also of the Presbyterian Church, and a man of great ability and culture. Dr. Henry Collin Minton, Presbyterian, able and devoted, was the next President; he was followed by the Rev. Dr. Thomas D. Edgar, pastor of the First United Presbyterian Church of Wilkinsburg, Pa., who served until 1925. The Hon. J. W. Vickerman of Pittsburgh, was elected and served for a short time when he resigned because of other work that had been laid upon



MRS. ELLA M. GEORGE, LL.D.

him, and the Association elected the Rev. J. S. Martin, D.D., of Beaver Falls.

In 1925, Mrs. Ella M. George, LL.D., was elected Executive Secretary, to direct the work in the absence of a General Superintendent. This position she is now filling in addition to her work as President of the Pennsylvania W. C. T. U.

Practical Work

While the National Reform Association has felt that mere external and temporary measures for reform are not sufficient for our national needs; and while its work has been in great measure academic because it deals with the fundamental and much neglected principles underlying our national permanence and prosperity; it would be a serious mistake to suppose that its work does not touch in countless ways the needs of the hour, and that it has not put forth many efforts for the immediate remedy of certain public conditions. Its work is concrete and practical as well as fundamental. It would require too much space to present any full, even though condensed, record of the various practical efforts put forth by the Association in the last half century in connection with living issues.

When the opponents of Christian education by the State have been striving to expel the Bible and religion from the schools, or have succeeded in doing so, National Reform workers have been sent by the Executive Committee to cooperate in giving the Bible its rightful place in the schools. In one instance, that of New Haven, Conn., the efforts of citizens thus roused and quickened, restored the expelled Scriptures to the public school room.

In connection with the celebrated Nebraska school case where the Supreme Court had rendered what was

considered a decision adverse to the reading of the Bible, and to other religious exercises in the school room, the Association sent one of its most efficient secretaries to the capital of the State, and held an important convention, two or three days in length, emphasis being given to the question of morality in education. Dr. David McAllister also had prepared about this time a profound and exhaustive article on the Constitutionality of the reading of the Bible in the public schools. During this same period an effort was made by local parties for a rehearing of the case before the Supreme Court; and an attorney for the rehearing incorporated in this argument much of the material presented by Dr. McAllister in the article above mentioned. The rehearing was refused; but as a result, no doubt, of this general agitation, the Court rendered a supplementary decision, or explanation, which intimated that the Court did not mean to exclude the Bible entirely from the public schools.

In connection also with the adverse decision, some years since, of the Supreme Court of Illinois, excluding the Bible from the schools of that State, the Association made an earnest effort to arouse public sentiment and lead to definite action. Different secretaries were sent to the State, a convention was held, literature was distributed, and altogether about three thousand dollars was thus expended. Subsequently the Association took an active part in the effort to secure in the constitution of that State a provision favorable to the reading of the Bible in the schools. Six States have during the last few years passed laws requiring the Bible to be read in the public schools, and it is a live political issue in several others.

But, going back a little farther in our history, no more satisfactory service has been rendered in these practical efforts of the Association than that connected

with the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. The weight of influence brought to bear upon the management by the forces of secularism and the hosts eager for material gain, to throw open the doors of the Exposition on the Sabbath, was enough to make all friends of the Lord's day tremble for the result. Some local opposition there was to the opening; but, except the National Reform Association, not a single organization, national in its character, and voicing the sentiments of citizens east, west, north and south, on this momentous question, stood in the breach on that day of trial. It was a hotly contested battle, with the issue doubtful until near the very date of the opening; but by the Lord's blessing a noble victory was won by the friends of the Sabbath.

The Association has in different instances endeavored to make its influence felt in connection with public legislation; for example, in connection with the Christian Amendment, the Blair Sunday Rest Bill, the Blair School Amendment, the Lankford Sunday Rest Bill and similar measures. Three of the Association's representatives appeared some years ago, in behalf of better divorce legislation, before the Commissioners on Uniform Legislation at their meeting in the City of Denver; and at another time two persons were appointed to cooperate in a general movement at Washington City, in behalf of the Kenyon-Shepard Inter-State Liquor Shipment Bill.

Three men at different times have been sent abroad in the interests of the Association: Dr. H. C. Minton, before the Second World's Conference; Senator Frank J. Cannon, during the World War; and Dr. J. S. Martin, the General Superintendent of the Association, at the time of the Council at Versailles.

When State conventions have assembled for the enacting or amending of State constitutions, the National

Reform Association has at all times been on the alert to secure, if possible, suitable Christian acknowledgments. In some instances representatives have been sent to such conventions. Although in no case has such a result been secured as the Association desired, namely, a clear and explicit acknowledgment of the authority of Christ and His law, nevertheless their labors have not been without fruit.

One class of assemblies before which the agents of the Association have been widely heard consists of Church Conferences, Presbyteries, Synods and organizations of sundry names. While this movement, as has been shown, has not been one of churches, nor along lines of ecclesiastical operation, it has yet acted on the belief that Church Courts are bound to take cognizance of all moral questions in political life. Avoiding itself all mingling of its own affairs with partisan politics, it has been far from seeking to enlist any church court in any partisan measure; but believing that the Church of Christ is God's teaching agency in this world to bring living truth to bear upon nations as well as upon individuals, in their own appropriate spheres, this Association has eagerly sought and improved every opportunity to press the claims of national Christianity upon both the superior and inferior courts of the various denominations of the Church of Christ.

One item in the practical work of the Association has been furnishing material to ministers for discourses on our national Thanksgiving Day, and the Day of Prayer for public schools. This Manual has furnished data for many a Thanksgiving sermon; and perhaps in no other single instance has a more extensive use been made of National Reform literature, than in the preparation of these discourses. On one occasion, in connection with our annual Thanksgiving Day, 3,000 of Dr.

R. C. Wylie's pamphlet of twenty pages on "Our National Thanksgiving Festival," were sent out. On another occasion, in connection with the Day of Prayer for schools, 3,000 letters were sent to ministers all over the country, enclosing the tract, "The Day of Prayer for Public Schools," and offering to send the larger tract by Dr. W. F. McCauley, on "The Bible in Our Public Schools," to all pastors who would preach on Christian education in the month of September, the second Sabbath preferred, and comply with other similar conditions. This offer drew responses from every State and resulted, no doubt, in a remarkably widespread discussion of the moral element in public education.

Anti-Mormon Work

Opposition to the Mormon hierarchy has been in recent years a prominent phase of the work of the Association. Realizing the great political, financial and religious power of this evil organization; how deeply rooted it is in our national life; how bold and aggressive its efforts to extend its influence; how full of menace it is to our Christian civilization; the Association is making a definite and extensive effort to inform the American people concerning the character and aims of Mormonism, and to awaken them to a consciousness of the dangers arising from this source.

In this difficult work the Association has had the cooperation of some who have been in close touch with the inner workings of the Mormon system. Through the columns of *The Christian Statesman*, and by the use of much other literature, as well as by well-qualified speakers, a wide and vigorous campaign has been conducted, the effectiveness of which has been clearly attested by the animated and indignant responses of Mormon leaders.

In connection with this work most helpful cooperation has also been rendered by an organization of faithful and earnest women, called the order of Anti-Polygamy Crusaders, auxiliary to the National Reform Association. Appreciating the fact that those of their sex had peculiar reason for opposing an institution that degrades woman and the home, these women organized a definite movement against this polygamous institution. Mrs. Francis J. Diefenderfer, the President at large, has effectively addressed many meetings, and Mrs. Sarah Ernest Snyder, the first President of the Order, has been active in connection with the Crusaders.

But undoubtedly the most outstanding work in this department has been that of Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepard, of Salt Lake City, Utah. For ten years, she has been presenting the subject in almost every State in the Union. Often speaking as many as eight times during the week she presents every phase of this anti-Christian antagonism to American institutions with a courage and tireless devotion that have made her one of the leading speakers on the American platform today.

Thus for about sixty years the National Reform Association has been enabled in the providence of God, to prosecute its work, with various degrees of equipment and varying degrees of success. On the rostrum, in the pulpit, and in the press, it has proclaimed the moral organism of the State, the relation of the Word of God to civil affairs, the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ in political life, and the duty of our nation and of all nations to recognize and serve Him. It has stood for better Sabbath observance and legislation, and against the Sunday newspaper, the Sunday mail, Sunday trains and Sunday amusements; for better marriage and divorce laws, and is conducting a wide and forceful crusade against the Mormon hierarchy. It stands for Prohibi-



MRS. LULA LOVELAND SHEPARD

tion, and the enforcement of law, for moral training of our youth on the part of the State; for better civil rulers; for the preservation of present Christian features in our civil life; and for the enactment of such further legislation, constitutional and statutory, as will bring us, as a nation, into fuller harmony with the Governor of nations. It has passed through phases of indifference, opposition, and misunderstanding until it has reached a position where its purposes and work are extensively known. It has secured much favorable consideration and much acceptance. It has done a great deal to mould public opinion in the realm of Christian citizenship. It is creating a distinct literature in this realm. It is attracting wide attention in the present hour, and is receiving much cooperation from moral and patriotic leaders.

The present is an hour of deep significance for our nation, and for all the world. New inventions and new ideas are annihilating space, changing creeds and customs, and altering national boundaries. New men, new forces, new issues are crowding to the front. Iniquity is rife, but righteousness is encouragingly aggressive. Individualism, on the one hand, manifests its selfishness and rapacity in social, commercial and political life; while, on the other, there is an increasing sense of social and corporate responsibility. Satan is alert and vigorous, not only to lead individuals astray, but to retain his hold upon society and the world; and is ever devising means to this end. The political realm, with all its vantage ground, has been largely under his control, and with great success he has been using governments and rulers for his destructive ends. The World War was one of his masterpieces. But, on the other hand, the Christian's vision is dim who does not see that the Son of God is leading His people further into His revealed truth, is making clearer its application to national life,

is broadening their conceptions of His kingdom, and is constantly opening doors for its advancement.

It must be conceded that there are many dark clouds in the skies here at home. Sabbath desecration is great and general, and is on the increase. Prevailing divorce mocks the purity and permanence of the home. Mormonism, defiant and deceitful, is intrenched in our national life. Commercialism greatly neutralizes the work of the Church. Organized labor emulates capital in monopoly and oppression. The liquor traffic, though outlawed by the nation, is carrying on a stubborn, and in some measure, a successful warfare. The Bible is banished from some of our public schools. Contempt for all law and government prevails to a considerable extent. America still fails much in regarding herself as an integral and responsible part of the world.

Nor is the vision abroad free from great uncertainty and peril. The recent World War, with its tremendous cost in blood and treasure, seems to have been fought largely in vain. The nations have not yet learned righteousness and humility. They are still groping for the wall, like the blind. They stumble as if they had no eyes.

The Council at Versailles forgot God. They did not invite the Prince of the kings of the earth. He sat not at their table. Bolshevism, with its usurpation of government and nationalization of property, has Russia by the throat. Lausanne was an international tragedy. Armenia bled to death, and the civilized world, with folded arms, looked on. China, with one-fifth of the human race, is struggling to maintain a republican form of government. Japan is civilized, but not Christianized.

Nevertheless, it is true that people here and abroad, are awakening more and more to the meaning of public problems and to the necessity of public reform. While

there is still much apathy as to moral questions, a growing interest is evident. Political leaders are more responsive to moral conditions. Legislation in many instances is reaching a higher plane. Especially is it cheering to see a growing appreciation of social responsibility. There is now a more distinct social conscience, a national conscience, a world conscience. Christian thinkers are coming to a fuller comprehension of the meaning of the kingship of Jesus, and the multiform departments and interests of His Kingdom. More clearly is it being perceived that all right institutions and movements are merely different forces and activities in the same Kingdom of God.

All these considerations are emphasized by the strategic relation which our nation holds to the world at large, and to the Kingdom of God in the world. Mr. Fletcher S. Brockman, said some time ago of Eastern Asia: "Throughout this entire region, whether one goes from Shanghai up to the shadows of the Himalayas, or to the borders of the Gobi desert; or from Formosa to Northern Japan, he will find the picture of George Washington in the rooms of the college students, and in the primers of the little boys. He will hear Washington's name on the lips of every statesman. Washington has become the political idol of this half-billion people." Prof. Austin Phelps, wrote some time ago: "As goes America, so goes the world, in all that is vital to its moral welfare;" and the late Viscount Bryce of Great Britain, asserted years ago in his extensive work, "The American Commonwealth;" that "thoughtful Europeans have begun to realize, whether with satisfaction or regret, the enormous and daily increasing influence of the United States, and the splendor of the part reserved for them in the development of civilization." Even though we should minimize such forecasts

of opinion, it must be admitted since the World War, that the eyes of the world are turned expectantly toward America. Our country is a battlefield for mankind. It is highly important then, that Christianity shall not only prevail more extensively among the people of our land, but that it shall become much more completely and organically dominant in our political life.

It is encouraging to observe in this same connection that the National Reform Movement has become not only national, but international. The many countries represented at the World's Christian Citizenship Conferences at Philadelphia, Portland and Pittsburgh, all speak of a broader day for this great Christian civic movement. India, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippine Islands, Syria, Germany, Russia, Holland, Denmark, France, Czechoslovakia and other nations, sat down at the same council table and planned for the same Kingdom of God on the earth.

The world is opening to the truth. Nearly every nation receives the gospel messenger. This missionary is moreover, not only the herald of salvation for the individual, but of a new social order, and of the law of God for the family, society and the State. It is His duty and privilege not merely to prepare men for heaven, but to fit them for efficient service, in all relationships here upon earth. His message is not only the fact that God gave His Son in order "that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish," but also the broader truth that God sent His Son into the world not to judge the world, "but that the world should be saved through Him." He is to labor for the acknowledged supremacy of the Lord Jesus Christ over the nations of the earth, and for the complete establishment of His Kingdom here.

This movement in its purpose definitely and fully

harmonizes with the words of Miss Francis E. Willard, in her annual address some years ago at the National Convention of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, held at Nashville, Tenn., when she said that the association over which she presided has "one vital, organic thought, one absorbing purpose, one undying enthusiasm. It is that Christ shall be this world's King—King of its courts, its camps, its commerce; King of its colleges and cloisters; King of its customs and constitutions; Christ and His law, the true basis of government and the supreme authority in national and in individual life."

Towards the accomplishments of such a purpose the National Reform Movement strives; and as a means to such an end this Manual, placing the emphasis on the civil sphere of Christ's Kingdom, is sent forth. The first half of this present century may go far in determining our national future. If as a nation we say of Christ the Saviour-King, "We will not have this man to reign over us," we can read our doom in the second Psalm. But if we prove true to the principles of Christian citizenship and Christian civil government in the conflict that is now upon us, the advancing years of the century will mark our steady progress in the blessedness of the nation whose God is the Lord.

This is surely no hour for pessimism. The Redeemer is still on the throne, His hand has never relinquished the sceptre. The Spirit of God is brooding over the waters of the world. The Church of Christ is active. The cross is being lifted up all over the world. The Bible is being translated into many languages. The world is growing weary of war. International conferences, though often falling far short, are promises of a better day for the world. The Washington confer-

ence on disarmament was a step beyond Versailles in its acknowledgment of God.

Amid many ominous conditions there is vast reason for encouragement. It has been well said that it is not the distance of years, but the density of our unbelief that separates us from the Kingdom of God. As we pause in our progress up the hill, we look back with profound gratitude and forward with unbounded hope and confidence. We are on the side of the eternal God. We catch the morning light and cooling breeze of a coming better day. We thank God, take courage, and press on.

The work is not finished, but its final success is sure, sooner or later, if we do not falter; and in the meantime it is the duty of every Christian patriot to support such a movement until it reaches its consummation.

CHAPTER III

The Historical and Documentary Basis of the Movement

The National Reform Movement, as set forth in the preceding chapters, is no new thing in American history. The politico-moral principles which it seeks to embody in our fundamental law, and the practical measures which it aims to defend and strengthen on the basis of these principles, find abundant illustration in the official documents of our government from the earliest times to the present. While it is important to give colonial and early national documents, which are comparatively little known, and inaccessible to many, as fully as possible, the citations in this Manual must manifestly be kept within narrow limits. All that are here given may be regarded simply as examples of the almost innumerable Christian documents of our political history. In these citations we have to do only with official documents and acts of the government. Let us follow, as far as practicable, the chronological order.

Colonial Charters.

First in this order will come the Colonial Charters granted by kings of England, from James I. to George II. Two of the earliest Colonies, New Plymouth and New Haven, were absorbed into their neighboring settlements. Large portions of territory, included in the Charters of a number of the Colonies, as those of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts Bay, in time were separated and erected into independent Colonies. The Charters of Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, Maryland, Connecticut, Carolina, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, together with the Great Patent of New Eng-

land, covering the entire territory of the thirteen original States of the Union, including the great territory of the northwest, out of which so many States were afterwards formed, and laying down authoritatively the principles in accordance with which the colonial governments were to be administered, connected these governments, one and all, with the Christian religion.

The first of these Charters was that granted by James I., April 10, 1606, for the settlement and possession of Virginia. This Charter speaks of the colonists who first erected governmental institutions in America, as having "desires for the furtherance of so noble a work which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of the Christian religion to such people as yet live in ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government."

The second Charter for the government of Virginia bears date May 23, 1609, and declares that it shall be necessary for all who shall "inhabit within the said precincts of Virginia, aforesaid, to determine to live together in the fear and true worship of Almighty God, Christian peace, and civil quietness." Again, in its closing section, it thus reads: "And, lastly, because the principal effect which we can desire or expect of this action, is the conversion and reduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and the Christian religion, in which respect we should be loath that any person should be permitted to pass that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the Church of Rome, we do hereby declare that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage from time to time to

be made into said country, but such as first shall have taken the oath of supremacy."

The Great Patent of New England, called also the Charter of the Plymouth Council, granted by James I., bears date November 3, 1620. This document, lying side by side with the Mayflower Compact at the foundation of American civilization, connects the earliest governmental matters in New England most closely with Christianity. It speaks of the proposed settlement as being undertaken, "in hope thereby to advance the enlargement of the Christian religion, to the glory of God Almighty." After the expression of a desire to follow God's sacred will, and rendering of "renewed thanks to his divine Majesty," it speaks of prosecuting, to his glory, "so hopeful a work, which tendeth to the reducing and conversion of such savages as remain wandering in desolation and distress, to civil society and the Christian religion." Then follow, farther on, the same sentences precisely as those already quoted from the second Virginia Charter.

The charter given to the Swedish colonists who effected a settlement in Delaware, by Gustavus Adolphus, reveals the essentially religious conception of the purpose of civil government.

Swedish Charter of Delaware Colony

December 21, 1624

"We have naturally considered and as far as in our power (lies) concluded, that the advantages, profits and welfare of Our Kingdom and faithful subjects, besides the further propagation of the holy Gospel will be much improved by the discovery of new commercial relations and navigation."—Gustavus Adolphus.

THE SUBSCRIPTION TO IT

"In the first place God's Glory, which above all must be especially cared for, and promoted, can be increased thereby, His blessed word and holy gospel planted and spread among all kinds of people and many thousand souls be brought to the true knowledge and understanding of God, who until now have lived and still live in dreadful heathenish idolatry and great wickedness. . . . Bishops and others of the clergy can expect the same. In the same way schools and churches will flourish and through it be sustained. . . . Therefore we, the undersigned, in the name of the Holy Trinity and with its powerful help and assistance. . . . We have, with our own hand attested and affirmed this document.

The Charter of Maryland granted by Charles I, a protestant king, to Cæcilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore, June 20, 1632, written originally in Latin, declares that this enlightened Roman Catholic was "animated with a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion." So far from following the teachings and practice of Romanism, the early settlers of Maryland a majority of whom were Protestants and took the Oath of Supremacy before leaving England, surpassed all the colonists in their regard for freedom of conscience. As a safeguard, however, against any possible administration of the colonial government to the detriment of Protestant Christianity, the Maryland Charter closed with the proviso that no interpretation of its contents should be allowed whereby God's holy and true Christian religion might in any wise suffer.†

† Maxcy's *Laws of Maryland*, vol. i., pp. 1, 10; Almon's *Charters*, p. 115. Roman Catholicism has claimed great credit to itself from the records of the Colony of Maryland. The credit is due to the first Lord Baltimore, Sir George Calvert, and to his worthy son, Cecil Calvert. And all the more credit is due to these noblemen because their whole course of policy

March 4, 1643, or rather—as the year was then reckoned as ending in March instead of December—March 4, 1644, Charles I. granted a Charter for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which affirmed that by the “free profession,” or the voluntarily declared purpose of the colonists themselves, as well as by the “royal intention,” the principal end of the plantation was the winning and inviting of the natives of the country, by the good life and orderly conversation of the colonists, “to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God, and the Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith.”

Passing by the renewed Charter granted October 17, 1691, by William and Mary, to Massachusetts, and those granted by Charles II., April 23, 1662, to Connecticut, and May 24, 1663, to Carolina, we come to that granted by the last-named monarch to William Penn, dated March 4, 1681. In terms beautifully in keeping with the mild character of Penn, it tells us that his desire in transplanting an ample Colony across the ocean, was “to reduce the savage natives, by just and gentle manners, to the love of civil society and the Christian religion.”

was in direct antagonism to the principles of Romanism. The birth and education of the father, to whom the credit of the tolerant provisions of the Charter is in large measure due, was under Protestant influences. He was born in Yorkshire, one of the most thoroughly Protestant portions of England, of Protestant parents, and was educated at the Protestant University of Oxford. The reason of his separation from the Church of his fathers was his dislike to the divisions and controversies by which the Protestant Churches were in that day so deeply agitated. Going into the Roman Catholic Church to avoid these conflicts, he did not conform his conduct, as his principles and disposition never had been conformed, to the history and dogmas of Romanism. On this important point the reader may be referred to the Preface to Mr. Gladstone's *Collection of Papers on Vaticanism*, etc., and to an article by Rev. G. H. Humphrey, in the *Presbyterian Quarterly* for April, 1874, p. 299. See also, *Maryland Not a Roman Catholic Colony*, by E. D. N., Minneapolis, 1875.

The Rhode Island Colony Charter is left to the last in these citations from Colonial Charters; a little out of its chronological order, because of its importance. It was obtained from Charles II., in 1663. This instrument was so completely satisfactory to the colonists, and afterwards to their descendants during the Revolution and subsequently, that it remained at the basis of the government for one hundred and eighty years. Not until the year 1842 was a written constitution, similar to those of the other States, framed for Rhode Island, to take the place of this Charter.

Two prominent features of this admirable instrument should be noted. The first of these is its guaranty for religious freedom. Having stated that it was "much on the hearts" of the colonists "to hold forth a lively experiment that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained, . . . with a full liberty in religious concernments," it declares "that no person within the said colony at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said colony; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences in matters of religious concernments." This guaranty for liberty of conscience was not to be perverted into a license for disturbing the civil peace of the colony. It was designed to secure liberty *in* religion, not *against* religion.

The second prominent feature of the Rhode Island Charter makes this clear. This consists in the requirement that the colonists are to behave themselves peaceably and quietly, not using their "liberty to licentiousness and profaneness." Again, the Charter with its im-

munities and privileges was designed for the people that they might "be in the better capacity to defend themselves in their just rights and liberties against all the enemies of the Christian faith." Once more. The Charter states that it was "much on their hearts, to hold forth a lively experiment that true piety, rightly grounded on Gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligation to true loyalty;" and then declares its design "to preserve unto them that liberty in the true Christian faith and worship of God, which they have sought with so much travail."

The promotion of the religious well-being of the Indians as well as of themselves, was the purpose of the Rhode Island colonists, no less than the people of the other Colonies. This intimate connection between their colonial government and Christianity also appears in their Charter, which affirms that they not only transported themselves from England to America with the above-mentioned purpose, but also from their first "desirable stations and habitations" "into the midst of the Indian natives," "pursuing with peace and loyal minds their sober, serious, and religious intentions, of godly edifying themselves and one another in the holy Christian faith and worship as they were persuaded, together with the gaining over and the conversion of the poor, ignorant Indian natives in those parts of America, to the sincere profession and obedience of the same faith and worship."

This truly Christian balancing of liberty and authority by Rhode Island, instead of proving that that Colony failed to connect its government with Christianity, as some writers have unwarrantedly affirmed, proves rather that it was among the earliest and brightest examples of a truly free and Christian Commonwealth. It

set a Christian example of religious liberty, not to be used to licentiousness and profaneness, and at the same time acknowledged its obligations to God and Christianity; "whereby," to use the language of the Charter, "as is hoped—and the hope has not been, and in the end will not be, disappointed,—there may, in time by the blessing of God upon their endeavors be laid a sure foundation of happiness to all America."

Colonial Compacts

Of quite as much, or even greater importance than the Charters in furnishing an historical basis for our national Christianity, are the Compacts of government into which the colonists entered on coming to this country. The earliest of these is the ever-memorable compact entered into by the Pilgrim Fathers, November 11, 1620, in the cabin of the "Mayflower," before they landed on Plymouth Rock. The opening words of this political covenant reveal the spirit in which our fathers began to build the civil institutions of New England: "In the name of God, Amen." And thus they covenanted: "We, whose names are underwritten, . . . having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid."

The Rhode Island Compacts, even more fully than the Charter of that Colony, were based on Christian principles. The religious spirit of Roger Williams and his followers finds expression in the name given to their first settlement. Expelled from Massachusetts,

Williams descended the Pawtucket, and bought a piece of land from the Indians. Here he effected a settlement, having, as he devoutly says, "in a sense of God's merciful providence to me in my distress, called the place Providence." This was in 1634.

Two or three years later the Colony of Massachusetts was disturbed by the Antinomian controversy, and Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Coddington, and others were banished. In March, 1638, these persons, assisted by Roger Williams, purchased the island now called Rhode Island, and settled both there and at Portsmouth. These two bands of settlers were for some sixteen years distinct communities with separate governments. Driven from Massachusetts on account of their diversity of religious opinions from those of the Colony, these apostles of liberty of conscience, like Roger Williams and his followers, never dreamed of a civil community denuded of all religious character. The settlers at Rhode Island, immediately after fixing upon their abode, subscribed the following Compact of government: "We, whose names are underwritten, do hereby solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a body politic; and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and the Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and absolute laws of his, given us in his holy Word of truth, to be judged and guided thereby." A more thoroughly Christian instrument of government than this cannot be found in the records of the Colonies or of the world. It is an admirable summary of the three fundamental principles lying at the basis of all Christian government—an acknowledgment of the Sovereign Jehovah, the political Messiahship of Christ, and the supreme authority of the Word of God.

The mutual engagement solemnly ratified between

the electors and their chosen ruler, William Coddington, at Portsmouth, appeals to their acknowledged standard in the phrases, "according unto God," and "according to the laws of God:" "We that are freemen incorporate of this body politic, do elect and constitute William Coddington, Esq., a judge amongst us, and so covenant to yield all due honor unto him according to the laws of God, and so far as in us lies to maintain the honor and privileges of his place, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping us so to do." The judge elected correspondingly covenanted "to do justice and judgment impartially according to the laws of God, and to maintain the fundamental rights and privileges of this body politic which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping me so to do."

Another example of a religious governmental compact or written constitution is found in the instrument adopted by the Colony of Connecticut, January 14, 1639. The preamble to this constitution of government is as follows: "for as much as it has pleased the Almighty God by the wise disposition of his divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we, the inhabitants of Windsor, Hartford, and Weathersfield, now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the river of Connecticut and the lands thereunto adjoining, and well knowing when a people gathered together, the Word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public estate or commonwealth, and do for ourselves and successors and such as shall be adjoining to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity

of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, which we now profess; as also the discipline of the church of Christ, according to the truth of said Gospel as now preached amongst us, as also in civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees as shall be made, ordered, and decreed."

In the first article of this Compact it is provided that the Governor, "being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose, shall have power to administer justice according to the rule then established, and for want thereof, according to the rule of the Word of God."

The oath referred to in the preceding extract is in marked contrast, in its solemn and Christian character, with what passes in our day under the name of an oath. "I, A. B., being now chosen to be Governor within this jurisdiction, for the year ensuing and until a new be chosen, do swear by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God, to promote the public good and peace of the same according to the best of my skill, and also will maintain all lawful privileges of this Commonwealth, as also that all wholesome laws that are or shall be made by lawful authority here established be duly executed, and will further the execution of justice according to the rule of God's Word. So help me God, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

This is the form of the oath sworn by John Haynes, elected Governor of Connecticut on the second Thursday of April, 1639. For other officers chosen at the same time, the oath of office bore the same solemn, reverential, and distinctively Christian character.

No more striking illustration can be given of the deeply religious character of these early Compacts than the "Combination for Government" at Exeter, New Hampshire, dated the 4th day of the 8th month, 1639.

This agreement reads as follows: "We, . . . brethren of the church in Exeter, . . . with other inhabitants there, considering with ourselves the holy will of God and our own necessity, that we should not live without wholesome laws and civil government among us, of which we are altogether destitute, do, in the name of Christ and in the sight of God, combine ourselves together to erect and set up among us such government as shall be, to our best discerning, agreeable to the will of God, . . . and binding of ourselves solemnly by the grace and help of Christ, and in his name and fear, to submit ourselves to such godly and Christian laws as are established in the realm of England, to our best knowledge, and to all other such laws which shall upon good grounds be made and enacted among us according to God, that we may live quietly and peaceably together in all godliness and honesty."

The oath administered to the rulers under this Compact of government was the following: "You shall swear by the great and dreadful name of the high God, Maker and Governor of heaven and earth, and by the Lord Jesus Christ, the Prince of the kings and rulers of the earth, that in his name and fear you will rule and govern his people according to the righteous will of God, ministering justice and judgment on the workers of iniquity, and ministering due encouragement and countenance to well-doers, protecting of the people, so far as in you lieth, by the help of God, from foreign annoyance and inward disturbance that they may live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. So God be helpful and gracious to you and yours in Christ Jesus."

The people, as a party to this Compact of government, swore the following oath: "We do here swear by the great and dreadful name of the high God, Maker and Governor of heaven and earth, and by the Lord Jesus

Christ, the King and Saviour of his people, that in his name and fear we will submit ourselves to be ruled and governed according to the will and Word of God, and such wholesome laws and ordinances as shall be derived therefrom by our honored rulers and the lawful assistants, with the consent of the people, and that we will be ready to assist them, by the help of God, in the administration of justice and preservation of the peace, with our bodies and goods and best endeavors according to God. So God protect and save us and ours in Jesus Christ."

Not only did the individual Colonies, as such, base their governmental economy on Christianity, but in their first endeavors to realize a kind of federal unity—intimations of the general government which was afterwards developed—they founded their association on the same religious basis. "The United Colonies of New England" were the foreshadowing of the "United States of America." The Articles of Confederation of the former bore to these the same relation, in large measure, which the Constitution of the United States bears to the present States. The Articles of Confederation between the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, subscribed May 19, 1643, begin with the following words: "Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospel in purity and peace," etc. The second article of this bond of union is as follows: "The said United Colonies, for themselves and their posterities, do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving

and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

Other articles, signed September 5, 1672, by commissioners of the Colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth and Connecticut, with the last of which the Colony of New Haven was then incorporated, contain the same religious acknowledgments.*

Colonial Laws.

The earliest legislation in our country for the observance of the Christian Sabbath was the act of the Colony of Virginia in the year 1623. This enactment, renewed in 1629, required civil magistrates "to see that the Sabbath day was not profaned by working or any employments, or journeying from place to place." In 1642 the power of the law was directed against profanity and blasphemy, as well as against Sabbath-breaking. It was enacted that church wardens should be "bound by oath to make a true presentment of all such as profane God's name and his holy Sabbath, and abuse his Word and Commandments." Similar enactments were passed at a later day by the Grand Assembly held at James City, March 13, 1657. The preamble to the enactments of this Assembly declares that that body, in revising the laws, took the same into their serious consideration, and did their work "according to the duty they owed to God, and the trust reposed in them by the country." The third of the acts of this Assembly required "that the Lord's Day be kept holy, and that no

**Compact, Charter, and Laws of Plymouth Colony*, pp. 314, 315. It is an interesting fact that Rhode Island was not included in these Confederations. Application was made by this Colony for admission into the union, but the request was not granted. The ground of refusal was that Rhode Island was within the jurisdiction of Plymouth Colony by the terms of the New Plymouth Patent. Hazard's *Staie Papers*, vol. ii., pp. 99, 100.

journeys be made except in case of emergent necessity on that day; that no goods be laden in boats, or shooting in guns, or the like, tending to the profanation of that day; which duty is to be taken care of by the ministers and officers of the several churches, and by the commissioners in their places; and the party delinquent to pay one hundred pounds of tobacco, or be laid in the stocks; and to take care that servants and others do repair to their several churches every Lord's Day."

Two general enactments under the Portsmouth Compact, in the Colony of Rhode Island, manifest supreme regard for the authority of the Holy Scriptures: "It is ordered that none shall be received as inhabitants or freemen, to build or plant upon the Island, but such as shall be received in by the consent of the Body, and do submit to the government that is or shall be established according to the Word of God." The second of these acts "2d of the 11th month, 1638," provides that "the judge, together with the elders, shall rule and govern according to the general rule of the Word of God, when they have no particular rule from God's Word by the Body prescribed as a direction unto them in the use." Again: "that all cases, actions, and rules, shall by the judge and elders be scanned and weighed by the Word of Christ."

Another settlement was effected at Newport. There is no record of their original compact of government, but a document dated October 1, 1640, gives a list of such persons as were admitted to be inhabitants "of the Island now called Aqueedneck," "having submitted themselves to the government that is, or shall be established according to the Word of God therein."

These three settlements, Providence, Portsmouth, and Newport, were united under a patent obtained from Charles I., November 2, 1643, or rather from the com-

missioners, who had been invested in 1635 with power to grant such instruments. A General Court, representing these three settlements, was held at Portsmouth, May 19-21, 1647. It was jointly agreed that they should incorporate themselves into one form of government, known as the Providence Plantations. Acknowledging their "different consciences touching the truth as it is in Jesus," they proceeded to establish and confirm their laws, basing their classification upon the words of Paul to Timothy: "Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane," etc. (I Tim. 1:9, 10.) This code, founded on what Paul in the succeeding context declares to be "according to the glorious gospel of the blessed God," closes with these words: "These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which by common consent are ratified throughout this whole Colony; and otherwise than thus what is here forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in the Colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah their God forever and ever."

At the session of the General Assembly of Rhode Island in 1664 a law was enacted "in relation to the rights and privileges of his majesty's subjects within the Colony." This law, as it appears in the officially printed digests for 1719, 1731 and 1767, contains this provision: "All men professing Christianity, and of competent estates, and of civil conversation, who acknowledge and are obedient to the civil magistrate, though of different judgments in religious affairs (Roman Catholics only excepted), shall be admitted freemen, and shall have liberty

to choose and be chosen officers in the Colony, both military and civil.”*

The “Great Law” of Pennsylvania furnishes one of the best examples of the balancing of liberty and law in the early history of our country. This justly celebrated “Great Law,” as it has been termed, comprises the body of laws passed at the Assembly which met at Chester, or, as it was also called, Upland, December 7, 1682, for “the province of Pennsylvania, and the territories there unto belonging.”

The preamble to this body of laws reads thus “Whereas the glory of Almighty God, and the good of mankind, is the reason and end of government, and therefore government, in itself, is a venerable ordinance of God; and forasmuch as it is principally desired and intended by the proprietary and governor, and the free-men of the province of Pennsylvania, and territories thereunto belonging, to make and establish such laws as shall best preserve true Christian and civil liberty, in opposition to all unchristian, licentious and unjust practices, whereby God may have His due, Cæsar his due, and the people their due, from tyranny and oppression of the one side, and insolency and licentiousness of the other, so that the best and firmest foundation may be laid for the present and future happiness of both the governor and people of this province and territories aforesaid, and their posterity—“Be it therefore, enacted,” etc.

**Rhode Island Colony Records*, vol. ii., pp. 36-37. It has been affirmed that the parenthetical clause, excepting Roman Catholics from the privileges of citizens, a disqualification formally removed in 1783, was not a part of the original law, but was added by a committee. The fact remains, however, that for over half a century this clause appeared in successive editions of the laws of the Colony. Certainly the unauthorized work of a committee could hardly secure so permanent a place in a body of laws. If it did, it must have been in harmony with the mind of the Colony.

Careful provision was made in this body of laws for securing true liberty of conscience—not irreligious or atheistic license, but genuine Christian liberty in subjection to the laws of the province: “Almighty God being only Lord of conscience, Father of lights and spirits, and the author, as well as object, of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, who only can enlighten the mind, and persuade and convince the understanding of people, in due reverence to His sovereignty over the souls of mankind.” It is enacted by the authority aforesaid, that no person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge one Almighty God to be the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government, shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced for his or her conscientious persuasion or practice, nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect, without any interruption or reflection; and if any person shall abuse or deride any other for his or her different persuasion and practice in matter of religion, such shall be looked upon as a disturber of the peace, and shall be punished accordingly. But to the end that looseness, irreligion, and atheism may not creep in under pretense of conscience in this province, Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that according to the good example of the primitive Christians, and for the ease of creation, every first day of the week, called the Lord’s Day, people shall abstain from their common toil and labor, that whether masters, parents, children, or servants, they may the better dispose themselves to read the Scriptures of truth at home,

or to frequent such meetings of religious worship abroad as may best suit their respective persuasions."

This "Great Law" made special provision that rulers should be honest and God-fearing men. In the second section it was enacted "that all officers and persons commissioned and employed in the service of the government of this province, and all members and deputies elected to serve in Assembly thereof, and all that have right to elect such deputies, shall be such as profess and declare they believe in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world, and that are not convicted of ill-fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and that are of one and twenty years of age at least."

The distinctively Christian laws for the prevention of the desecration of the Lord's Day and the suppression of profanity and blasphemy, which have always given an indisputably Christian character to the statute books of our various states, had a prominent place in this early legislation of Pennsylvania. The Sabbath law has already been quoted in connection with the provision for liberty of conscience. The enactments against profaneness and blasphemy are as follows: "Whosoever shall swear in their conversation by the name of God, or Christ, or Jesus, being legally convicted thereof, shall pay for every such offense five shillings, or suffer five days imprisonment in the house of correction, at hard labor, to the behoof of the public, and be fed with bread and water only, during that time." "And be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, for the better preventing of corrupt communication, that whosoever shall speak loosely and profanely of Almighty God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Spirit, or the Scriptures of truth, and is legally convicted thereof, shall, for every such offense, pay five shillings, or suffer," etc., in the same terms as before.

Laws of the same general character against Sabbath desecration, blasphemy, profanity, and vice and immorality generally, were enacted by the various Colonies. We subjoin only one further illustration, however, selecting this because of the remarkable method adopted for giving it publicity. This law was passed by the General Assembly of North Carolina, during its session held at Edenton, beginning April 4, 1741. After forbidding in Section II, all hunting, fishing, sports, and labors, excepting works of necessity and mercy, and requiring all and every person or persons whatsoever to apply themselves carefully to the duties of religion and piety, it is provided in Section XII: "That this Act shall be publicly read, two several times in the year, in all parish churches and chapels, or for want of such, in the place where divine service is performed in every parish within this government, by the minister, clerk, or reader of each parish, immediately after divine service."

The limits of this chapter forbid the accumulation of evidence from the colonial provisions for the education of the youth, of the truly Christian character of the governments of the colonies. It must suffice at present to subjoin one of the most remarkable examples of care for the young on the part of the colonists. This is an "Ordinance of the Director General and Council of New Netherland for the better, and more careful instruction of youth in the principles of the Christian religion." This ordinance, as felicitous in expression as it is broad and tender in spirit, was passed March 17, 1644: "Whereas it is most highly necessary and most important that the youth from childhood up, be instructed not only in reading, writing and arithmetic, but especially and chiefly in the principles and fundamentals of the Reformed religion, according to the lesson of that wise king, Solomon,—'Train up a child in the way he should

go, and when he is old he will not depart from it,'—so that in time, such men may proceed therefrom as may be fit to serve their fatherland as well in the Church as in the State; this, then, being taken into particular consideration by the Director General and Council of New Netherland, because the number of children is, through the merciful blessing of the Lord, considerably increased here, they have deemed it necessary, in order that so useful and God-acceptable a work may be the more effectually promoted, to recommend and command the schoolmasters, as we do hereby, that they shall appear in the church, with the children committed to their care and entrusted to them, on Wednesday before the commencement of the sermon, in order, after the conclusion of divine service, that each may, in the presence of the reverend ministers and the elders who may be present, examine his scholars as to what they have committed to memory of the Christian Commandments and Catechism, and what progress they have made; after which performance the children shall be dismissed for that day, and allowed a decent recreation."

Early National Acknowledgments

Coming now to the first acts of a government springing from Christian commonwealths, yet distinct from their own individual governments, let us note a few illustrations of its connection with the Christian religion. The first truly national Congress of America met in Carpenters' Hall,† Philadelphia, on Monday, September 5, 1774. Nothing was done the first day, except the organ-

†"On Monday, the fifth day of September, the members of Congress, meeting at Smith's tavern, moved in a body to select the place for their deliberations. Galloway, the Speaker of Pennsylvania, would have had them use the State House, but the Carpenters of Philadelphia offered their plain but spacious hall; and from respect for the mechanics, it was accepted by a great majority." (Bancroft's *History*, vol. vii., p. 127.)

ization of the body, and the reception and approval of credentials of delegates. The next day it was resolved, "That the Reverend Mr. Duche be desired to open the Congress tomorrow morning with prayers, at the Carpenters' Hall, at nine o'clock." Mr. Jay, of New York, and Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, objected to the resolution for prayers, on the ground of the diversity of religious opinions among the delegates. But the overwhelming sentiment of the Congress demanded that these differences should not prevent a youthful people, struggling through pangs of revolution into the family of nations, from calling for help upon the God of hosts. Hardly had the resolution been carried, when an express arrived with the report of a bloody attack by the troops in Boston on the people, and of patriot comrades rising in arms. The tolling of muffled bells the next morning was in keeping with the solemn opening of Congress. The thirty-fifth Psalm, the collect of the Episcopal Church for the 7th of September, was read by the minister of Christ. Well might John Adams say in his diary: "The collect for the day, the 7th of the month, was most admirably adapted, though this was accidental, or rather providential." "It seemed as if heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning." "Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me; fight against them that fight against me. Take hold of shield and buckler, and stand up for mine help. Draw out also the spear, and stop the way against them that persecute me: say unto my soul, I am thy salvation." Following the stirring words of this Psalm, which in that hour of unutterable hopes and fears must have thrilled every soul, the minister of God, forsaking all accustomed forms of supplication, broke forth in an extemporaneous prayer, in the fervor and Christian faith of which the Congress as a body united. The scene of

that first prayer in Congress has become an historic picture, not only on canvas and paper, but on the heart of every Christian patriot.

On Friday, October 21, 1774, Congress agreed upon an "Address to the people of Great Britain," in which not only the Christian, as distinguished from Mohammedan, pagan, or infidel, but the Protestant, character of the unfolding nationality clearly appears. It must be remembered, in judging of the language of this address, that Romanism had been seen by our ancestors in the dark colors of its then recent history, and that they spoke with the accustomed emphasis of their day, in their apprehension of its establishment in the territory adjoining them on the north. They say: "We think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized by the Constitution to establish a religion fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe Such declarations [implying a disparity of rights on opposite sides of the ocean] we consider as heresies in English politics, and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of Popes can divest kings of sceptres which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands." Other similar passages occur in the address. The strongest of these is added: "Nor can we suppress our astonishment that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion through every part of the world."

This address to the people of Great Britain was prepared in accordance with a provision in the Declaration of Rights, adopted in Congress on Friday, October 14, in which it was "resolved, *nemine contradicente*,"

that among the acts of Parliament which were regarded as infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists, was that passed the last session of Parliament "for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government) of the neighboring British Colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France."

An address of the same date to the inhabitants of the Colonies contains similar language: "The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence, and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion, and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the Colonies, in favor of our open and their own secret enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty."

May 17, 1776, was kept as "a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer," by appointment of Congress, that they with the Colonies might confess and bewail sin, and "by a sincere repentance and amendment of life, appease God's righteous displeasure, and through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, obtain his pardon and forgiveness." A month and a half afterward, on July 2, a resolution was passed declaring the United Colonies free and independent States, and dissolving their political connection with Great Britain. Then, on July 4, was adopted that immortal instrument, in which, while asserting the nation's independence of oppressive human authority, Congress devoutly acknowledged their own and the

nation's dependence on God, closing their Declaration with the words: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

As Congress had repeatedly betaken itself to God in fasting and prayer in times of distress, so when in answer to the nation's prayers victory was granted to our arms, Congress appointed days of thanksgiving. The first resolution of this kind is found in the Journal for October 31, 1777: "Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a recommendation to the several States to set apart a day for thanksgiving for the signal success lately obtained over the enemies of these United States." This committee, consisting of Messrs. S. Adams, R. H. Lee and Roberdeau, reported on November 1, recommending the setting apart of "Thursday, the 18th of December next, for solemn thanksgiving and praise, that with one heart and one voice the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts, and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor; and that, together with their sincere acknowledgments and offerings, they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor, and their humble and earnest supplication that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please Him graciously to afford His blessings on the governments of these States respectively, and prosper the public council of the whole; . . . to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue and piety, under His nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion for the promotion and

enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth in righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost."

It was further recommended by Congress "that servile labor, and such recreation as, though at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment, be omitted on so solemn an occasion."

On November 15, 1777, Congress agreed upon "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," thus drawing into closer form of unity the various portions of what had already become a national unit. The committee appointed to prepare the form of ratification of these articles, reported on June 26, 1778. In their reported resolution of ratification, adopted by Congress, they thus refer to the approval of the articles by the legislatures of the various States: "Whereas it hath pleased the Great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," etc.

The third of the Articles of Confederation thus ratified reads as follows: "The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them or any of them on account of *religion*, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretense whatever."

In view of the action of the Continental Congress, already quoted, declaring that the religion of the country was Protestant Christianity, there cannot be the slightest doubt in the interpretation of the above article. It was a league for the defense of the confederated States against any attack, upon any or all of them, which might

endanger either their sovereignty or their Protestant character.

Among the earliest endeavors of the Congress of confederated States for the good of the whole country, was a resolution passed October 12, 1778. It runs thus:

"Whereas, True religion and good morals are the only solid foundations of public liberty and happiness.

"Resolved, That it be and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the several States to take the most effectual measures for the encouragement thereof, and for the suppressing of theatrical entertainments, horse racing, gaming, and such other diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of principles and manners.

"Resolved, That all officers in the army of the United States be and hereby are strictly enjoined to see that the good and wholesome rules provided for the discountenancing of profaneness and vice, and the preservation of morals among the soldiers are duly and punctually observed."

Under these Articles of Confederation was passed, July 13, 1787, the famous ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio. This ordinance consists of six articles of agreement between the original thirteen States and the people and States of said territory. It was prepared by Mr. Dane, author of Dane's *Abridgment*, one of the most celebrated jurists of Massachusetts, and embodies the essential principles of New England legislation.* The

*The laws of Massachusetts, as to the rights of persons, property, etc., says Justice Story, "were made the root or germ of all our territorial law east of the Mississippi, by being made the material parts of the Ordinance of Congress, passed July 13, 1787, for the government of the United States territories northwest of the Ohio, and from time to time extended to their other territories, as will appear on examining the Ordinance itself." (Article in the *North American Review*, 1826. See Story's *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 400.) Again: "To him [Mr.

third article of this ordinance contains the following provision: "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged." The word "religion" in this ordinance, as in the Articles of Confederation, can mean only the religion which was acknowledged by Congress and the American people.

The Inaugural Addresses and Annual Messages of the earliest Presidents of the United States, furnish another evidence of the Christian character of the American nation. Washington's first message, in harmony with his inaugural address already noticed, ascribes the nation's blessings to "a gracious Providence." In another message to the Senate and House of Representatives he says: "I humbly implore that Being on whose will the fate of nations depends, to crown with success our mutual endeavors for the general happiness." In still another, he calls to mind "the gracious indulgence of heaven by which the American people became a nation," "and requests Congress to unite with him in imploring the Supreme Ruler of nations to spread His holy protection over these United States," and to perpetuate to our country that prosperity which His goodness has already conferred." In his last annual address to Congress he says: "I find ample reason for a renewed expression of that gratitude to the Ruler of the universe which a continued series of prosperity has so often and so justly called forth;" and in closing, repeats his

Dane] belongs the glory of the formation of the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, which constitutes the fundamental law of the States northwest of the Ohio. It is a monument of political wisdom and sententious skillfulness of expression. It was adopted unanimously by Congress, according to his original draft, with scarcely the alteration of a single word." (Discourse pronounced at the inauguration of Justice Story as Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University. See Story's *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 546.)

"fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, that His providential care may still be extended to the United States, that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved, and the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

Chief among these official acknowledgments of religion by the first President of the United States is that contained in the immortal "Farewell Address," which, though not strictly an official governmental document, is regarded by the American people with equal or even greater veneration, and may therefore be quoted here. How tenderly and with what solemn warning do these words now come to our nation: "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

The example of Washington was recommended by both houses of Congress to the imitation of his successors. His first successor, John Adams, referring to this

recommendation in his inaugural address, says: "With humble reverence, I feel it to be my duty to add, if a veneration for the religion of a people who profess and call themselves Christians, and a fixed resolution to consider a decent respect for Christianity among the best recommendations for the public service, can enable me in any degree to comply with your wishes, it shall be my strenuous endeavor that this sagacious injunction of the two houses shall not be without effect." This inaugural address closes with this prayer: "And may that Being who is supreme over all, the Patron of order, the Fountain of justice, and the Protector, in all ages of the world, of virtuous liberty, continue His blessing upon this nation and its government, and give it all possible success and duration consistent with the ends of His providence."

The first annual message or address of President Adams to Congress, November 23, 1797, the time when French infidelity endangered our national welfare, acknowledges "abundant cause of gratitude to the source of benevolence" "for a rational spirit of civil and religious liberty, and a calm but steady determination to support our sovereignty, as well as our moral and religious principles, against all open and secret attacks."*

Passing by many similar devout acknowledgments in annual and special messages, we come to John Adams' fourth annual message to Congress, assembled for the first time in Washington, the permanent seat of the na-

*The correspondence between this message of President Adams and the third of the Articles of Confederation, will be observed by the careful reader. The two vital elements of the young nation's life, its sovereignty and its moral and religious principles,—those of Protestant Christianity as opposed to Romanism on the one hand, and infidelity on the other,—were thus associated in the minds of the fathers of the republic. They believed that ours could continue a free and sovereign republic only as it preserved and maintained the moral and religious principles of Protestant Christianity.

tion's government, November 22, 1800. In the newly finished Capitol of the American nation, among the first official words uttered were those of the President's message: "It would be unbecoming the representatives of this nation to assemble for the first time in this solemn temple, without looking up to the Supreme Ruler of the universe and imploring his blessing. May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorned the character whose name it bears, be forever held in veneration! Here, and throughout our country, may simple manners, pure morals, and true religion flourish forever!"

Any amount of similar evidence might be accumulated; but it is believed that a sufficient array of facts and official documents has been brought forward to prove indisputably that our national government, at its origin, was intimately connected with Christianity. Notwithstanding the omission of all acknowledgment of God and the Christian religion from the National Constitution, we have seen that both houses of Congress and the Presidents of the United States, as well as the legislatures and officers of the colonial governments, based their political action on the acknowledged principles of Christianity, and brought the national government itself into close relations, not with any established church, as in some of the Colonies, but with the broad, undenominational, fundamental truths of the Christian religion.

State Constitutions.

The thirteen original State Constitutions all contained full and explicit acknowledgments of God and Christianity, with the exception of Virginia. The original Constitution of this State—the first of all our State

Constitutions—was enacted June 29, 1776, thus antedating the Declaration of Independence.

Says an able writer, whose excellent treatise was published anonymously: "That Virginia was in truth a Christian State, will not be questioned; but her philosophers have not allowed the fact to appear in her political framework."

Dr. Baird, in like manner, remarks: "Virginia was unquestionably a Christian State, but her Constitution is silent on the subject. It was drawn up under the eye of one of the greatest enemies that Christianity has ever had to contend with in America; but although he had influence enough to prevent the religion which he hated from being mentioned in the Constitution of Virginia, he could not obliterate all traces of it from her laws."

Stephen Colwell, in his admirable discussion, speaks as follows: "In Virginia, previous to our national independence, religion was established by law. No mention was made of the subject in a Constitution drawn up under the influence of, if not by, Jefferson himself."

These statements are hardly correct. It is true that in the Constitution or plan of government reported to the convention by Mr. Cary on June 24, 1776, and adopted June 29—a plan in the drafting of which Mr. Jefferson's influence was no doubt powerfully exerted—there is not a word on the subject of religion. But in the Bill of Rights, which is really a part of the Constitution, originally drafted by George Mason, as it is claimed, and adopted by the convention, June 12, 1776, there is the following provision in the sixteenth section, corresponding to the eighteenth section of the Bill of Rights of the present Constitution: "Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally en-

titled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience; and it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love, and charity towards each other."

Religious liberty was thus watchfully guarded by the Bill of Rights, in connection with a faint acknowledgment of Christianity as a rule of action for citizens; yet while the revulsion from the union of the Episcopal Church with the government led to the almost utter ignoring of Christianity in the Constitution, the laws and administration of the government were in close connection with the Christian religion. Sabbath laws, laws against blasphemy, and the employment by the State of Christian chaplains, continued to be essential features of the government.

The latest revision of the Constitution of Virginia, in 1870, introduced into the preamble the words, "invoking the favor and guidance of Almighty God."

Forty-two of our present State Constitutions contain some form of acknowledgment of God in the preamble. Of these forty-two, the Constitutions of Alabama, Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Virginia invoke the guidance or the favor and guidance of Almighty God. Those of Maine, Massachusetts, and South Carolina implore the aid and direction of the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, or the direction of the Great Legislator of the universe. Those of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and North Carolina acknowledge the dependence of the people of those States on Almighty God, the Supreme Being, or the Sovereign Ruler of nations. Those of Colorado and Washington express "profound reverence for the Supreme Ruler of the universe." Those of New Jersey, North Carolina, and Rhode Island look to Almighty God for a blessing. Those of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Illinois,

Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Wisconsin express in varying phrases gratitude to God, the grace of God, the providence of God, Almighty God, the Supreme Being, the Sovereign Ruler of the universe, the Author of all good government, or the Sovereign Ruler of nations, for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, for freedom, guidance, or the right of worshipping the Creator according to the dictates of conscience.

West Virginia, unless there has been some recent change, is the only state in the Union whose fundamental law does not recognize God either directly, or indirectly in providing freedom for the worship of God. Provision is made in the constitution of this state for the freedom of worship, but without any mention of a supreme being. The constitution also provides that the legislature shall foster and encourage "moral" improvement; and, in connection with the signing of bills, uses the familiar phrase, "Sunday excepted;" but there is no mention in the constitution of God or of Christianity.

The constitution of New Hampshire, in addition to providing for freedom of worship, contains a somewhat unique recognition of God in asserting the value accruing to society from "the public worship of the Deity."

It is also worthy of note in this connection that the constitution of Tennessee, while containing no satisfactory recognition of God, contains the expression, "in the year of our Lord," no less than seven times in the preamble and declaration of rights. The expression also appears in the declaration of rights that "all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own conscience."

Vermont, in its constitution, which has no preamble, makes the unusual but significant statement: "Every sect or denomination of Christians ought to observe the Sabbath or Lord's Day, and keep up some sort of religious worship, which to them shall seem most agreeable to the revealed will of God." The bill of rights in the Delaware constitution also says: "It is the duty of all men frequently to assemble together for the public worship of Almighty God."

In connection with these religious acknowledgments in state constitutions there is a remarkable fact which has not always received the attention it deserves. While in the charters and compacts of government of the original thirteen colonies there were devout religious acknowledgments, for almost half a century from the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the constitutions of New York and Massachusetts were the only ones that acknowledged God in their preambles. New York in 1777 embodied the entire Declaration of Independence in the preamble of its constitution, and that document contains four acknowledgments of God. Previous to the Civil War only thirteen states acknowledged God in the preambles of their constitutions. It was the custom in those early years to make no reference to God in state constitutions, except in the bill of rights, where the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience was declared. But there is quite a difference between the right of the people to worship God and the worship of God by the state itself. A constitutional recognition of God as the God of the state is an act of worship by the state; and there has been a decided advance in the matter of state acknowledgments of God, especially since the Civil War. More than twenty states, which originally made no mention of God in the preambles of their constitutions, have in more recent

years done so when the work of constitutional revision was undertaken; and, as we have seen, forty-two states now recognize God in the preambles of their constitutions, and at least three other constitutions contain a more or less clear recognition of Him.

Christian Laws of our States

Our State legislation generally is based on the moral principles of Christianity. All our definitions of crime are according to the Christian standard of morals. Pagan morality, Mohammedan morality, or what is called independent or natural morality, could never have given us the revised statutes of several States.

It will be enough to refer to only a few of our State laws to show the historical and documentary basis for the connection between our government and the Christian religion. Passing by the many clear and distinct Christian enactments of earlier days, we come to our present laws against blasphemy and profanity.

In France, before the 25th of September, 1791, it was blasphemy, according to the law, to speak against the Virgin Mary and the saints, or to speak profanely of things which the Roman Catholic Church alone regarded as holy, or to deny the Roman Catholic faith. So in Spain, the law makes it blasphemy not only to speak against God and his government, but to utter injuries against the Virgin Mary and the saints.

In England, blasphemy includes not only malicious reproaches against God, the Christian religion, and the Holy Scriptures, but also malicious revilings of the Established Church. In the United States, where there is no ecclesiastical establishment, the crime is determined, not by the organization and doctrines of any denomination, but by the essential moral principles of Christianity as an element of the common law.

The connection between our laws against blasphemy and Christianity is thus expressed by Justice Story: Christianity is part of the common law in the sense "that its divine origin and truth are admitted, and therefore it is not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against to the annoyance of believers or to the injury of the public." But whether the punishment of blasphemy is based upon an admission, by the government, of the divine origin and truth of the Christian religion, or simply on the ground of the public peace and welfare of the State, the fact of the connection of our law with what is distinctively Christian, and even distinctly Protestant, remains unchanged.

Another American authority defines blasphemy as "consisting in speaking evil of the Deity, with an impious purpose to derogate from the divine majesty, and to alienate the minds of others from the love and reverence of God. It is purposely using words concerning the Supreme Being calculated and designed to impair and destroy the reverence, respect, and confidence due to him, as the intelligent Creator, Governor, and Judge of the world. It embraces the idea of detraction as regards the character and attributes of God, as calumny usually carries the same idea when applied to an individual. It is a willful and malicious attempt to lessen men's reverence of God, by denying his existence or his attributes as an intelligent Creator, Governor, and Judge of men, and to prevent their having confidence in him as such. Contumelious reproaches and profane ridicule of Christ or the Holy Scriptures have the same evil effect in sapping the foundations of society and of public order, and are classed under the same head."

Profanity is also a criminal offense, kindred to blasphemy, according to the laws of most of our States.

Like blasphemy, it is determined by the truths of Christianity.

In like manner our State legislation connects itself with Christianity in laws against the public desecration of the Lord's Day. Here, again, space will not permit the citing of the statutes. Suffice it to say that in varying phrase every State, except California, guards the sacredness of the Sabbath.

The attempt to base our Sabbath laws on mere policy, and not on moral principle, tends to undermine the strongest foundations of all criminal legislation. The distinction between the Sabbath as a civil institution and the Sabbath as a spiritual institution is a proper and valid one. But both are moral. The one is for the individual believer, or the collective body of believers in the spiritual service of God; the other is for the welfare of the state itself. But this latter is not a mere matter of expediency. The state is under moral obligation to secure to citizens their rights to a quiet Sabbath, and at the same time it is under moral obligation to keep the Sabbath itself by abstaining from all unnecessary work in its own sphere. The logic which bases Sabbath laws on policy, would base laws against the seventh commandment, or the eighth, or any other, on the same shifting and flimsy foundation. All that would need to be done would be to change public opinion, so that a breach of the law in question would no longer be a breach of the peace, and the obligation of the law would be dissolved. The law of monogamy is a moral law, and is based on Christian morality. The law of the Sabbath is a moral law, founded in the moral as well as in the physical nature of man. And the state, as a moral being, legislating for moral beings, must base its Sabbath laws, its marriage and divorce laws, and all similar laws on an unequivocal moral basis, or they will prove to be powerless

in restraining man from wrong. Says Dr. A. H. Lewis, though from no friendly standpoint: "There is no meaning in the statutes prohibiting 'worldly labor,' and permitting 'works of necessity and mercy,' except from the religious standpoint. There can be no 'worldly business,' if it be not in contrast with religious obligation. Every prohibition which appears in Sunday legislation is based upon the idea that it is wrong to do on Sunday the things prohibited. Whatever theories men may invent for the observance of Sunday on non-religious grounds, . . . to say that the present Sunday laws do not deal with the day as a religious institution, is to deny every fact in the history of such legislation. The claim is a shallow subterfuge."

Christianity and the Common Law.

Chancellor Kent, whom Charles Sumner described as in his day "the unquestioned head of American jurisprudence," in a decision rendered while Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, points out that the constitutional prohibition of religious establishments "does not forbid judicial cognizance of those offenses against religion and morality which have no reference to any such establishment, or to any particular form of government, but are punishable because they strike at the root of moral obligation, and weaken the security of the social ties. To construe it as breaking down the common law barriers against licentious, wanton, and impious attacks upon Christianity itself, would be an enormous perversion of its meaning." After referring to the provision in the Constitution of the State for the rights of conscience and freedom of worship, he adds: "This declaration (noble and magnanimous as it is when duly understood) was never meant to withdraw religion in general, and with it the best sanctions of social and

moral obligations, from all consideration and notice of the law." "We are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply engrafted upon Christianity." "Christianity in its enlarged sense, as a religion revealed and taught in the Bible, is not unknown to our law." The rest of the court, including Justices Thompson, Spencer, Van Ness, and Yates, unanimously concurred with Chief Justice Kent.*

A decision similar to that of the Supreme Court of New York was given by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, before which had been brought, by writ of error, the case of a man charged with "contriving and intending to scandalize and bring into disrepute and vilify the Christian religion and the Scriptures of truth." The writ of error was taken out expressly with a view to decide the question whether Christianity was part of the law of the land. As this question was distinctly understood to be raised, the court, through Justice Duncan, discussed the point very fully. He remarked: "The bold ground is taken, though it has often been exploded, and nothing but what is trite can be said upon it—it is a barren soil on which no flower ever blossomed—the assertion is once more made, that Christianity never was received as part of the common law of this Christian land; and it is added that if it was, it was virtually repealed by the Constitution of the United States and of this State, as inconsistent with the liberty of the people and the freedom of religious worship, and hostile to the genius and spirit of our government."

In answer to this it was said: "If the argument was worth anything, all the laws which had Christianity for their object would be carried away at once—the act against cursing and swearing, and breach of the Lord's Day," etc. "But," continued the court, "it is not now

*The people *vs.* Ruggles, 8 Johnson's *Reports*, pp. 295-297.

for the first time determined in this court that Christianity is part of the common law of Pennsylvania." "The late Judge Wilson, of the Supreme Court of the United States, Professor of Law in the College of Philadelphia, was appointed by the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania to revise and digest the laws of the State. In his Lectures, vol. iii. of his works, he says that Christianity is part of the common law. "Christianity, general Christianity, is and always has been a part of the common law of Pennsylvania; not Christianity with an established church and tithes and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men."*

In other States the same decision has also been given. In Delaware, Chief Justice Clayton, after referring to the decisions of Justices Kent and Duncan in New York and Pennsylvania, accumulates additional authorities to show "that from the time of Bracton, Christianity was part of the common law of England." He then proceeds to maintain that Christianity, as the religion of the people, is so far a part of the common law of Delaware, "that any person reviling, or ridiculing it, might be prosecuted at common law;" and this on the ground that he who reviles, subverts or ridicules Christianity strikes at the foundation of civil society, and disturbs the peace of the land.†

Chief Justice Johnson, of Arkansas, rendered a similar decision: "The Christian religion is recognized as constituting a part and parcel of the common law, and as such, all the institutions growing out of it, or in any way connected with it, in case they shall not be found to interfere with the rights of conscience, are entitled to the

*Updegraph *vs.* the Commonwealth, 11 Sergeant and Rawle, 394-409.

†The State *vs.* Chandler, 2 Harrington, 553.

most profound respect, and can rightfully claim the protection of the law-making power.”†

A decision in the Supreme Court of New York, by Justice Allen, declares that “Christianity is part of the common law of this State to the extent that entitles the Christian religion and its ordinances to respect and protection as the acknowledged religion of the people.” After referring to the religious acknowledgments in the Constitution of the State, Judge Allen remarks: “These provisions and recitals very clearly recognize some of the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, and are certainly very far from ignoring God as the Supreme Ruler and Judge of the universe and the Christian religion as the religion of the people, embodying the common faith of the community, with its ministers and ordinances, existing without the aid of, or political connection with the State, but as intimately connected with a good government, and the only sure basis of sound morals.” In the same case the District Attorney argued that Christianity was part of the common law at the revolution; that it continued to be part of the common law of the State under the Constitution of 1776; and that the same law has remained in force ever since.†

To the weight of authority already adduced, it remains to add the decision of Justice Story, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in the Girard will case: “It is said, and truly, that the Christian religion is part of the common law of Pennsylvania.” “It is so in this qualified sense, that its divine origin and truth are admitted, and therefore it is not to be maliciously and openly reviled and blasphemed against, to the annoyance of believers or the injury of the public.”*

† *Shover vs. the State*, 5 English, 263.

† *Lindenmuller vs. the People*, 33 Barbour, 556-563.

* *Vidal et al. vs. Girard's Executors*, 2 Howard, 198. A few citations of high authorities, though not official declarations,

It may help reconcile some slight differences of view in the above decisions, and remove objections that have found expression, to admit that the statement that "Christianity is part of the common law of the land," is perhaps not altogether the happiest possible. It might seem to suggest an idea which is excluded necessarily by the relations between the church and the state in this country, viz.: that all the doctrines of the Christian religion enter into the common law. The law of the state does not with us, embody in itself the principles of the Christian religion which belong to the church alone; but so far as the vital, general truths of Christianity, as distinguished from the teachings of all other religions, touch the sphere of the state, so far the Christian religion enters into the law of a truly Christian government. Regard will always be had to these fundamental Christian truths in all statutes and enactments, and they will be a vital element in that great unwritten code which is known as the common law. It is in this sense that the expression so often employed in our courts, and by our judges, is to be understood.*

This interpretation of this famous judicial phrase gives us, then, the politico-moral principles on which the National Reform Movement is based.

may be added: Wharton's *American Criminal Law*, vol. i. § 36; vol. iii., §§2539-2545; Bishop's *Criminal Law*, vol. 1., §497; vol. ii., §74; §76, n; Burrell's *Law Dictionary*, *sub voc.* "Blasphemy;" see also Bouvier's *Law Dictionary*, *sub voc.* "Christianity;" Dane's *Abridgment*, c. 219, a. 219; Swift's *System of the Laws of Connecticut*, vol. 11., p. 321; Judge Wilson's *Law Lectures*, vol. iii., p. 112. The words of the Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, uttered in the United States Senate during the celebrated "Sunday Mails" controversy, should here be placed on record: "Christianity is the religion of this country, and as such is recognized in the whole structure of its government, and lies at the foundation of all our civil and political institutions; in other words, Christianity, as really as is republicanism, is part and parcel of our laws."

*See also the *Trinity Church case*, Page 334.

State Thanksgiving Proclamations.

A few of our early national Thanksgiving Proclamations, like the one adopted by Congress October 31, 1777, supplicate God "through the merits of Jesus Christ." It is a lamentable fact that most of our national proclamations have been and are Christless documents. The baleful influence of the national proclamations is seen in the general exclusion of all acknowledgment of Christ from State proclamations. But there are yet noble, outspoken Christian State proclamations, from a number of which extracts will be given, following the alphabetical order of the States.

Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, in 1858, called to thanksgiving to God because "'He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities,' but has magnified the riches of his grace in giving his Holy Spirit to revive his work and lead sinners to repentance, and that the door of mercy is yet open, through which the guilty may enter and obtain eternal life, by faith in the atonement of Jesus Christ his Son."*

Governor Lowe, of Iowa, the same year said in his proclamation: "Praise him [the God of our fathers] for giving this whole land so largely of his Spirit, by which the faces of multitudes have been turned heavenward. Praise him for the Christian's faith, and the spread of our holy religion."

Massachusetts was called by her great war Governor, John A. Andrew, in 1861, to bless God "for the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ, for the means of grace, and the hope of glory."

Governor Alexander H. Rice, in 1877, invited the

*For these documents in full, see Hough's *Collection of Thanksgiving Proclamations*, except in those cases where other references are given in foot notes.

people of Massachusetts to praise God "for the redemption of the world by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for his Holy Word, and all the aids to increase in virtue and godliness; and finally, for that uplifting faith which enables the afflicted and distressed to look out from the darkness of human sorrow into the light and blessedness of the life immortal."

Governor Olden, of New Jersey, in 1862, in an unusually brief document, found room to mention as a ground of thanksgiving to Almighty God, "above all, the inestimable gift of his dear Son, Jesus Christ," and to render praise "for all the blessings of free salvation through him, for the means of grace and the hope of glory."

John Jay, Governor of New York, in his proclamation for 1794, mentioned "the civilizing light and influence of his holy gospel" as a cause of thanksgiving to "the great Creator and Preserver of the universe," who is also "the Supreme Sovereign of nations."

No State Governor has more uniformly and distinctly marked his official documents with an unequivocal Christian character than Wm. H. Seward. His proclamation for 1839 reads: "Let us also beseech him . . . to vouchsafe to all mankind the privileges of civil and religious liberty, and the knowledge, influences, and blessed hopes of the gospel of his Son our Saviour." His proclamation for the next year, 1840, contains these sentences: "The Church of the living God is one, and embraces all those who in humility of spirit receive his holy faith, and through divine aid seek to keep his commandments. Let us, therefore, in perfect harmony and charity one with another, as patriots and Christians, implore him to sustain and bless all our civil and religious institutions, and to dispense to us abundantly that heavenly grace which, with faith in the Lord Jesus

Christ, leads through the ways of virtue here, to the blessed society of the redeemed in his everlasting kingdom."

Governor Bouck, of the same State, in 1854, used these words: "During the past year . . . the blessed gospel has been gradually but surely extending its benign influence. Actuated by its diffusive benevolence, Christian missionaries have not only labored among the waste and desolate places at home, but have gone forth to proclaim 'Christ and him crucified' to the dark and benighted regions of the earth." "With our thanksgiving let us mingle our prayers . . . that there may be an outpouring of the Spirit of God to revive pure and undefiled religion among us—the best security of our civil and political institutions."

Governor Silas Wright, in 1846, said: "The gift of a Saviour, and the full light of divine revelation, are spiritual blessings which should awaken to expressions of devout thankfulness the hearts and the voices of a Christian people."

Governor Hamilton Fish, in 1849, said: "The blessings of the gospel are extended to all who desire to enjoy its comforts and its consolations. . . . It becomes a grateful Christian people to acknowledge these mercies and to render thanks to their Bountiful Giver."

Governor Myron H. Clark, in 1855: "Let us, as patriots and Christians, implore him [our heavenly Father] to bless our civil and religious institutions; and let us supplicate him to continue his favors to this people throughout all generations, and withal to dispense to us individually that heavenly grace which, with faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and virtuous action here, will prepare us for his heavenly kingdom."

Governor Thomas Worthington, of Ohio, issued a proclamation in 1816 which may well be quoted in full:

"Whereas the Legislature of the State of Ohio have, by their resolution of the 27th of February, 1816, requested me to appoint a day of thanksgiving and prayer to God; and believing that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, the way to national and individual prosperity and happiness; that the Christian religion furnishes the purest, plainest, and best measures of individual and social government, and the most rational hope of future happiness, I have appointed, and by these presents do appoint and hereby set apart as a day of thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God, Saturday, the first day of June next; and recommend to the good people of this State, abstaining from their ordinary labor, to meet together on that day in their respective places of public worship, to implore for the Redeemer's sake the pardon of our individual and national trespasses, and the grace of Heaven with the blessings of peace; that knowledge may be increased and that justice, truth, and holiness may abound; that health and a fruitful season may be granted to us; peace among ourselves and with all nations; and that the kingdom of the Saviour may come, and his will be done on earth as it is in heaven."

Governor S. P. Chase, in 1856, invited the citizens of the same State to give thanks for "institutions of education, religion, and charity, . . . for the mercies of redemption, and the hopes of immortality."

Governor Elisha Dyer, of Rhode Island, in 1858, called for thanksgiving because "the unrestricted enjoyment of our civil rights and religious privileges; the widespread manifestations and presence of the Holy Spirit; the 'means of grace and hope of glory' still offered us in the religion of Jesus Christ, all proclaim his dealings with us to have been in mercy and with love."

Governor Hiland Hall, of Vermont, in 1858, asks citizens "to render thanks to God and proclaim his

praises for all mercies both temporal and spiritual; . . . for the means of obtaining and profiting by intellectual, moral, and religious instruction; . . . and finally, for the Christian hope which is vouchsafed to us of a blessed immortality."

Christian Common Schools.

Documentary evidence already quoted proves that our system of public schools was designed to be distinctively Christian. They are meant to be unsectarian, but not secular.

The language of the famous Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the Northwest, quoted on a preceding page, under the action of Congress, has been in substance incorporated into many of our State Constitutions. For example, the Constitution of Ohio reads: "Religion, morality, and knowledge, however, being essential to good government, it shall be the duty of the General Assembly to pass suitable laws to protect every religious denomination in the peaceable enjoyment of its own mode of public worship, and to encourage schools and the means of instruction."*

The Constitution of Massachusetts declares that "the public worship of God, and instructions in piety, religion and morality, promote the happiness and prosperity of a people, and the security of a republican government."†

The same instrument further reads: "Whereas our wise and pious ancestors, so early as the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-six, laid the foundation of Harvard College, in which university many persons of great eminence have, by the blessing of God, been ini-

*Constitution of Ohio, art. i., sec. 7. See also, for the same provision, the Constitutions of Arkansas, art. i., sec. 23; Nebraska, art. i., sec. 16; and North Carolina, art. ix., sec. 1. See Hough's *American Constitutions*.

†Constitution of Massachusetts, Eleventh Amendment of latest revision.

tiated into those arts and sciences which qualified them for public employments, both in Church and State; and whereas the encouragement of arts and sciences and all good literature tends to the honor of God, the advantage of the Christian religion, and the great benefit of this and the other United States of America: it is declared, etc."

The fundamental law of New Hampshire contains the following provision: "As morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give the best and greatest security to government, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to due subjection; and as a knowledge of these is most likely to be propagated through a society by the institution of the public worship of the Deity, and of public instruction in morality and religion; therefore, to promote these important purposes, the people of this State have a right to empower, and do hereby fully empower the legislature to authorize, from time to time, the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies within this State, to make adequate provisions, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality."*

While this provision of the Constitution of New Hampshire, like the 11th Amendment of that of Massachusetts, has special reference to the instructions of the Christian ministry, both will yet serve to demonstrate, in harmony with the other provisions quoted, the Christian basis of the schools of our country.

The establishment of the common schools of the great Empire State must suffice to show how thoroughly Christian the instructions of the school systems of our different Commonwealths was intended to be. Five Commissioners were appointed in 1811 to report to the Legis-

*Constitution of New Hampshire, part i., art. 6.

lature of New York, a system for the organization and establishment of common schools. It is noteworthy that these Commissioners did not advise the reading of the Bible in the schools proposed. They accepted it as a first principle, not to be called in question, that the Bible would be used. They simply offered some advice touching the manner of its use. This is an extract from their report: "Connected with the introduction of suitable books, the Commissioners take the liberty of suggesting that some observations and advice, touching the reading of the Bible in the schools, might be salutary. In order to render the Sacred Volume productive of the greatest advantage, it should be held in a very different light from that of a common school-book. It should be regarded as a book intended for literary improvement, not merely, but as inculcating great and indispensable moral truths also. With these impressions, the Commissioners are induced to recommend the practice introduced into the New York Free Schools, of having select chapters read at the opening of the school in the morning, and the like at the close in the afternoon. This is deemed the best mode of preserving the religious regard which is due to the sacred writings."

Similar to this has been the character stamped on all our State systems of common school instructions. They are of Christian origin, with the open text-book of Christian morals—the Divine Word. The logic of secularism, which has expelled the Bible, has made and is making itself felt against all Christian ideas that remain. But our common school system is not yet secularized. It is threatened, and the dangers ahead are grave enough to fill every patriot's heart with anxiety. But in the fact of the discernment of the peril lies the hope of the firm maintenance of our public schools on the Christian basis on which our fathers founded them.

More Recent Examples of our National Christianity

It may be objected to the national acts and documents already cited, that they are of such remote date as to be out of force. But a nation's life is a growth that roots itself in the past. We cannot sever the present from the past without violence and danger. What we have been must largely determine what we are, and what we are to be. But let us come to more recent documentary evidence, in our federal legislature and executive, that our national life rests on Christianity.

During the sessions of the thirty-second and thirty-third Congress an attempt was made to abolish the office of chaplain for the army and navy, and for the Senate and the House of Representatives. The long struggle in that celebrated thirty-third Congress to elect a Speaker for the House, delayed for many weeks the election of a chaplain. Soon after Congress assembled, however, the following resolution, offered by the Hon. Mr. Dowell, of Alabama, was adopted:

"Whereas, The people of the United States, from their earliest history to the present time, have been led by the hand of a kind Providence, and are indebted for the countless blessings of the past and present, and dependent for continued prosperity in the future upon Almighty God; and whereas, the great vital and conservative element in our system is the belief of our people in the pure doctrines and divine truths of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, it eminently becomes the Representatives of a people so highly favored to acknowledge in the most public manner their reverence for God; therefore,

"1. Resolved, That the daily sessions of this body be opened with prayer.

"2. Resolved, That the ministers of the Gospel in

this city are hereby requested to attend, and alternately perform this solemn duty."

The petitions which were presented for the abolition of the office of chaplain, were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, of which the Hon. James Meacham, of Vermont, was chairman. This committee reported against the petition, and the report was adopted March 27, 1853. Their admirable report, which, by its adoption, became the recorded official action of our national House of Representatives, has many notable passages. After referring to the abandonment of the union of Church and State, and approving of the separation of these institutions, the report adds: "Down to the Revolution, every colony did sustain religion in some form. It was deemed peculiarly proper that the religion of liberty should be upheld by a free people. Had the people, during the Revolution, had a suspicion of any attempt to war against Christianity, that Revolution would have been strangled in its cradle. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution and the amendments, the universal sentiment was that Christianity should be encouraged—not any one sect. Any attempt to level or discard all religion would have been viewed with universal indignation. The object was not to substitute Judaism, or Mohammedanism, or infidelity, but to prevent rivalry among sects to the exclusion of others."

One more passage is given, to the thoroughly Christian political science of which some ministers of Christ, in their infatuation with secularism, sadly need to go to school:

"Your Committee concede that the ecclesiastical and civil powers have been, and should continue to be, entirely divorced from each other. But we beg leave to secure ourselves from the interpretation of asserting that religion is not needed to the safety of civil society. It must

be considered as the foundation on which the whole structure rests. Laws will not have permanence or power without the sanction of religious sentiment—without a firm belief that there is a Power above us that will reward our virtues and punish our sins. In this age there can be no substitute for Christianity. That, in its general principles, is the great conservative element on which we must rely for the purity and permanence of free institutions. That was the religion of the founders of the republic, and they expected it to remain the religion of their descendants. There is a great and very prevalent error on this subject in the opinion that those who organized this government did not legislate on it by making it free to all, 'to the Jew and the Greek, to the learned and unlearned.' The error has risen from the belief that there is no legislation unless in permissive or restrictive enactments. But making a thing free is as truly a part of legislation as confining it by limitations; and what the government has made free, it is bound to keep free."*

During the civil war there were repeated acknowledgments of God by our supreme law-making power; the Congress of the United States. But let us note the clear and unequivocal utterance of Christian principles of government in the following action by the Senate, March 2, 1863. This was a resolution requesting the President to set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation, and this was done by that august body with a sense of God's presence such as should reign continually in the Senate chamber, and indeed in every department of our national

*Report of the Committee on the Judiciary on Chaplains in Congress and in the Army and Navy; House of Representatives, Thirty-third Congress, first session, March 27, 1854, Document 124. The Report of Mr. Badger in the Senate is a similar vindication of the connection of our government with Christianity; see Report No. 376, of the Committee on the Judiciary, Thirty-second Congress, second session, January 19, 1853.

and State governments. Let us mark well the words employed, and we shall not fail to see the very same principles that underlie the National Reform cause:

"Devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations; deploring the national offenses which have provoked his righteous judgment; yet encouraged in this day of trouble by the assurances of His Word, to seek Him for succor according to His appointed way, through Jesus Christ," they made their request of the President to issue his proclamation for a fast-day.

The response of the President was as remarkable as the request of the Senate. He promptly issued his proclamation, appointing the 30th of April of that year, 1863, acknowledging "the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence on the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon," and recognizing "the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord." Farther on, this remarkable document says: "Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us. It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness." "Let us rest humbly in the hope, authorized by the Divine teachings, that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high, and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our national sins, and restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace."

No candid mind can deny that these documents of

our National Senate and Executive, exhibit in most definite form the following principles of political and national life:

1. That Almighty God is Supreme Ruler of nations.
2. That nations are bound to acknowledge His authority.
3. That Jesus Christ is the appointed way of acceptance for nations as well as individuals before God, whether in confession of sin or services rendered.
4. That God's Word, the Holy Scriptures, is given for national encouragement and guidance.

Now, what is all this but the basis of the National Reform Movement?

CHAPTER IV

The Philosophical Basis of the Movement

The facts of our political history are not without their philosophical or scientific justification. Back of the documentary basis for our national Christianity is the firm foundation of a sound political science. The official documents and acts of our government, examples of which are given in the preceding chapter, involve certain fundamental principles concerning the true nature and functions of the nation. Prominent among these principles of Christian political science are such as the following: 1. The moral character and accountability of the nation; in other words, its true moral personality. 2. The justice and necessity of the connection of civil government with religion, without any union with the church; also the impossibility of neutrality on the part of this moral person, the State, in reference to such religious principles as are involved in its nature and functions. 3. The twofold office of a written Constitution: (*a*) To formulate, express, and authenticate the fundamental elements of a nation's providential, vital, or unwritten Constitution. (*b*) To give authoritative declaration of the will of the people, as sovereign under God, in fundamental principles, for the regulation of the government which they establish. 4. The right of a Christian nation to provide itself with a Christian written Constitution, and with Christian laws and usages founded thereon and authenticated thereby, notwithstanding so-called rights of conscience of objecting individuals.

A chief aim of this Manual is to furnish unquestionable authorities on points like the above. The weight of authority is here all on one side. From the great mass

of testimony that might be cited from the ablest political thinkers of our own and other countries, a comparatively brief selection must be made.

Let us begin with the truth on which the whole controversy hinges. If this truth is conceded, National Reform principles are fully justified.

The Nation a Moral Person

This is an accepted form of statement covering such points as that the nation is not merely an economic, but also a jural society; that it thus has to do with morals, having moral as well as material aims and objects, and that it is capable of being influenced by moral motives. All this simply means that the nation, or the State, in the sense of that word in international law, is a moral agent, or a being with true moral character and accountability. As it is a sovereign power on earth, a power with no earthly superior, its responsibility must be immediately to God Himself. Such a being is properly termed a moral person. Let each eminent witness speak for himself:

Chancellor Kent says that "States, or bodies politic, are to be considered as moral persons, having a public will, capable and free to do right and wrong, inasmuch as they are collections of individuals, each of whom carries with him into the service of the community the same binding law of morality and religion which ought to control his conduct in private life."

Bouvier, in his elaborate work on American law, thus defines a nation: "A nation is an independent body politic; a society of men united together for the purpose of promoting their mutual safety and advantage by their joint efforts and their combined strength. Such a nation becomes a moral person, and is susceptible of obligations

and rights." A little farther on in the same treatise this high authority says that "nations or states become moral persons, having an understanding and will peculiar to themselves."

Prof. Francis Lieber stands among the foremost authorities in political science. No witness on points like these deserves greater respect. He says: "The state, being a jural society, and rights being imaginable between moral beings only, it follows that the State has likewise a moral character, and must maintain it. . . . Right is founded on the claim each rational or moral being makes on every other rational or moral being."

Dr. Elisha Mulford, one of the few great names in political science, author of the book *The Nation*, the masterpiece, all things considered, of American political writings, teaches this truth with great eloquence and fullness. Only a few sentences can be given: "The nation is a moral personality. This is the condition of its vocation, as in the fulfillment of its vocation there is the formation of its character. . . . The nation is a moral person, since it is called as a power in the coming of that kingdom in which there is the moral government of the world, and in whose completion there is the goal of history. . . . The being of the nation as a moral person has its witness in the consciousness of men. It has awakened the higher moral emotion, and its response has been from the higher moral spirit. . . . The assertion of the moral being of the nation has been the foundation of that which is enduring in politics, and has been embodied in the political thought and will, which alone have been constructive in the state. . . . Those who have been the masters of political science, and it has perhaps fewer great names than any other science, all repeat this conception."

John Milton may well take first place among English

authorities. Drawing the portraits of "modern politicians," as true to life now as then, he says: "They teach not that to govern well is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity (take heed of that), and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likeness to God. . . . Alas, sir! a commonwealth ought to be but as one huge Christian personage, one mighty growth and stature of an honest man, as big and compact in virtue as in body; for look what the grounds and causes are of single happiness to one man, the same ye shall find them to a whole state, as Aristotle, both in his ethics and politics, from the principles of reason, lays down."

Edmund Burke is a worthy companion for John Milton. In his celebrated treatise called forth by the French Revolution, he says: "The State ought not to be considered as a partnership agreement, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and dissolved at the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked upon with other reverence, because it is not a partnership in things subservient to the gross animal existence of a temporary and perishable nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue, and in all perfection." Farther on, speaking of the moral relations and duties of the State, he adds, that on account of these the English nation "think themselves bound, not only as individuals in the sanctuary of the heart, or as congregated in that personal capacity, to renew the memory of their high origin and cast; but also in their corporate character to perform their national homage to the Institutor and Author and Protector of civil society."

Dr. Thomas Arnold's name is held in high esteem by all educators of youth, and by all students of history and political science. He says: "It is sometimes urged

that the highest object of the Royal Society as a society is the advancement of science, although to the individuals of that society a moral and religious object would be incomparably of higher value. Why, then, may not the highest object of a nation, as such, be self-defense, or wealth, or any other outward good, although every individual of the nation puts a moral object before any mere external benefits. The answer to this is simply because a nation is a sovereign society, and it is something monstrous that the ultimate power in human life should be destitute of a sense of right and wrong. That end [the worthy end of a nation's life] appears to be the promoting and securing a nation's highest happiness; so we must express it in its most general formula; but under the most favorable combination of circumstances, this same end is conceived and expressed more purely as the setting forth God's glory by doing His appointed work.

"It is allowed by those who object to the moral theory of a state, that Christian legislators did well in forcibly suppressing gladiatorial shows and impure rites, as being immoral and pernicious actions; but if the legislator has anything to do with morality, the whole question is conceded; for morality is surely not another name for expediency, or what is advantageous for body and goods; yet if it be not, and a legislator may prohibit any practice because it is wicked, then he regards moral ends, and his care is directed towards man's highest happiness, and to putting down his greatest misery, moral evil. Nor, in fact, does it appear how, on other than purely moral considerations, a state is justified in making certain abominations penal."

The Hon. Wm. E. Gladstone's testimony has never varied on this part. Criticising the view of S. T. Coleridge, which would subordinate the nation to the church,

he remarks: "This view of the state does not specifically include the element of its living personality and consciousness; it regards the state as a thing composed and guided, rather than as self-composing and self-guiding, and deliberately free in the exercise of its functions."

Once more, in a passage of singular eloquence and beauty: "It [the state] is moral, and not merely economical, inasmuch as its laws and institutions, and the acts done under them, are intimately connected with the formation of our moral habits, our modes of thought, and the state of the affections, and inasmuch as its influences pervade the whole scheme and system of our being, mingling with the first instincts of boyhood; it may be, even attracting the last lingering look of age on the threshold of its departure; inasmuch as that which we are individually, we have come to be, in a very considerable degree, through and by means of that which we are nationally."

Phillimore, whose extensive work in three large volumes is one of the highest authorities on International Law, thus defines the nature and law of nations: "Moral persons are governed partly by divine law, which includes natural law; partly by positive instituted human law, which includes written law and unwritten law or custom. States are reciprocally recognized as moral persons. States are therefore governed in their mutual relations partly by divine and partly by positive law. Divine law is either 1st, that which is written by the finger of God in the heart of man, when it is called natural law; or 2d, that which has been miraculously made known to him, when it is called revealed or Christian law. The primary source, then, of international jurisprudence is Divine Law."

Passing now to French authorities on this fundamental point, I translate from recent carefully edited

originals. Vattel affirms that a nation or state "has its own affairs and interests; it deliberates and takes resolutions in common, and thus becomes a moral person, which has its own proper understanding and will, and is capable of obligations and rights."

Martens, another of the most eminent French writers on the law of nations, frequently expresses the same truth. For example: "The state, considered as a moral person, is equally susceptible of a twofold order of rights and obligations: 1st, the internal relation which is established among its members; and 2d, its external relation toward strangers."

Dr. Vergé, the learned editor of this fine edition of Martens, thus confirms the above statement: "The word 'state' signifies the community of laws or of government, and in this acceptation a state is a veritable moral person."

Leferrière, in the same exalted rank of the political philosophers of France, in his *Course of Administrative and Public Law*, says: "States are moral persons having a free and intelligent nature, and possessing, on account of that nature, fundamental and inviolable rights."

Victor Cousin, in his eloquent treatise on *The True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, states that "government, which represents society, is also a moral person."

Serrigny should be added to this list of French publicists: "It is agreed to consider a state as constituting a moral or civil person, a collective being, having rights and duties, and in consequence a will of its own, distinct from that of each of its members."

Let German authors follow in this array of testimony to the moral personality of the state. It is of these that Mulford speaks when he says concerning the idea of the moral personality of the nation: "There is no conception which has such power in the thoughts of men, and in

this age it has the greater significance when it is drawn, not from a school of Puritan politics, but from those most widely separated from historical Puritanism, and finds its expression in the literature of a people which is rising to great political might."

Klüber, whose work has been translated into French, is a standard authority. One among many instances of testimony like the preceding is this: "The state is a society, free and independent, ... representing in relation to other states, a moral person enjoying natural liberty."

Heffter, another German author honored by a French translation, and recognized by both nations as of special eminence, in his *International Law of Modern Europe*, thus draws the important distinction, so often overlooked by superficial political writers, between commercial companies and nations: "Commercial companies, which have played an important part in the colonial politics of the last three centuries, are essentially different from nations. . . . They never become moral persons of international law."

Hegel says: "The state is the realization of the moral idea, ... the rational life of self-conscious freedom, the order of the moral world."

The name of Bluntschli is one of the most eminent. What could be finer than this passage from his *Universal Law of States*?—"While history informs us of the organic nature of the state, it at the same time gives us to understand that the state does not stand in the same rank with the lower vegetable and animal organisms, but is of a higher order. History represents the state as a moral-spiritual organism, as a great body that is capable of taking into itself the feelings and thoughts of the people, expressing them as law, and realizing them as deed. It acquaints us with the moral qualities, with the

character of single states. It ascribes to the state a personality which has endowed its own will with spirit and body, and made it known..... The whole grand idea of the Fatherland, and love of Fatherland would be inconceivable, if this high moral-personal nature did not belong to the state."

Von Mohl is another of these eminent German names. This author discusses at great length, in his *Encyclopedia*, "the moral principles of the relations of the state," including "the moral purpose of the constitution." The discussion hardly permits a brief extract suited to the limits of this Manual.

Rothe's testimony is also full, making a brief extract unsatisfactory. In his famous treatise on ethics, he says: "The state must lay hold of the moral aim as its own aim, and set before itself no narrower purpose than this—the realization of complete moral society. It must, therefore, act upon the absolute unity, or rather the identity of politics and morals, and can by no means recognize any difference between their demands."

Schleiermacher is another of Germany's famous ethical writers. In *his Christian Morals* he says: "We know no opposition between morals and politics. The state, in which we Christians are to live, must be bound by the same Divine Will that binds us, and have for its nature the same innermost nature which we recognize as our own."

Trendelenburg holds high rank as a political philosopher. His statement is: "The state, in which the individual grows up, is the enduring moral order without which man does not become man..... Individual man becomes as person first in the state, and the state ought to reach the same elevation, to become a person, not merely a legal person, as a company with special aims, which comes into being by the state, but a moral person."

Dorner, a name as celebrated in ethics as in theology, gives this clear testimony: "It [the state] is a free person, a living existence, a moral personality..... Neither is it the sum of all the other moral communities; on the contrary, it is itself one of them, which has been entrusted with the administration of right."

Stahl's is a worthy name with which to crown this array of authorities in political science. Perhaps no work in any language has commanded as profound respect in its own department as his *Philosophy of Right*. In this he repeatedly affirms the moral character and accountability of the state. No writer has so fully set forth the moral grounds and relations of the state. A few brief sentences must suffice: "The deeper moral ground for the state, even as for the right itself, lies in the divine authority." "Human society is a moral kingdom,..... and governs its common affairs in the manner of a personality, as one will and understanding, as one acting subject. For this purpose it is ordered and ordained as an institution of government, and this institution is the state..... According to its contents and meaning, it [the state] is a moral empire..... It is not the moral calling of individual men, but the moral calling of human society as one whole, on which the state is founded."

It would be an unpardonable error to omit from this list of political philosophers the name of Pufendorf, who filled at Heidelberg, the first university professorship of International Law ever established, (1632-1694). In his work, "De Jure Naturae et Gentium." He undertook to show that States are bound by the moral law, "and that the sum and substance of the law properly governing the society of States is simply the code of morality applied to the peculiar relations in which States find themselves placed with regard to one another. He, there-

fore, defined the State to be a "moral person" who ought to act just as a good man ought to act.

David Jayne Hill says that after a view of the "non-moral" conception of the State advocated by Machiavelli "it is refreshing, and even comforting to hear the State described as a moral person." Proceeding further on this line of thought he says, "We are not surprised, therefore, to learn that practically all modern jurists are in agreement with Pufendorf in assigning the attribute of personality to the State." Furthermore, he says that "we cannot escape the conclusion of Pufendorf, that the State is, in some sense not only a person, but a moral person." "The State is a 'moral person' in the sense of possessing rights and obligations, and being subject to moral law but only in so far as these comport with its nature." As a corollary to this fact he maintains that "Nothing is more certain than that States are subject to the penalties of violated moral law." "It is even easier to take note of penalties consequent upon the violation of moral law in the case of nations, than in the case of individual men." (*World Organization and the Modern State*, pp. 36-42).

The name of John Bassett Moore deserves a prominent place in this discussion. By appointment of the American Congress he prepared a work on International Law in six volumes. On page 14 of the first volume he says, "Pufendorf propounded the idea, which has been so generally adopted of treating the State as a moral person, endowed with a collective will."

There is a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States which places the stamp of approval of that august body on this doctrine, and it should be rescued from the obscurity in which it has been enveloped for a number of years. The case in the decision of which this principle was used came before the

Supreme Court by appeal from the Courts of Tennessee. The question involved was the obligation of Tennessee to receive in payment of taxes the issues of the State bank of Tennessee, although the State by constitutional amendment had declared that it would not receive in such payment notes issued during the period of the rebellion. The Supreme Court, in its argument maintaining the obligation of the State to honor all the issues of its own bank, quoted Vattel as follows with approbation. "Nations or States are bodies politic, societies of men united together for the promotion of their mutual safety and advantage by the joint efforts of their combined strength. Such a society has her affairs and her interests. She deliberates and takes resolutions in common, thus becoming a moral person who possesses an understanding and a will peculiar to herself, and is susceptible of obligations and rights.

*The Justice and Necessity of the Connection
of Religion and the State*

Prof. Francis Lieber has been quoted by some who would separate our government entirely from Christianity and give us a purely secular state. To support this view they cite the following: "It belongs to American liberty to separate entirely the institution which has for its object the support and diffusion of religion from the political government." But it is evident that Dr. Lieber here speaks of the church; and it is to her union with the state that he objects, as does also the National Reform Association. Dr. Lieber adds: "They [the State constitutions] are not hostile to religion, for we see that most of the State governments direct or allow the Bible to be read in the public schools." The teaching of this authority is still further shown to be on the side of religion and the state in the words already quoted:

"The great mission which this country has to perform with reference to Europe, requires the total divorce of state and church—not religion."

Justice Story, of the United States Supreme Court, is even more full and explicit on this point: "The right and the duty of the interference of government in matters of religion have been maintained by many distinguished authors, as well those who were the warmest advocates of free governments as those who were attached to governments of a more arbitrary character. Indeed, the right of a society or government to interfere in matters of religion will hardly be contested by any persons who believe that piety, religion, and morality are intimately connected with the well-being of the state, and indispensable to the administration of civil justice. The promulgation of the great doctrines of religion, the being and attributes and providence of one Almighty God; the responsibility to Him for all our actions, founded upon moral freedom and accountability; a future state of rewards and punishments; the cultivation of all the personal, social, and benevolent virtues;—these never can be a matter of indifference in any well-ordered community. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how any civilized society can well exist without them. And at all events, it is impossible for those who believe in the truth of Christianity as a divine revelation, to doubt that it is the especial duty of government to foster and encourage it among all the citizens and subjects. This is a point wholly distinct from that of the right of private judgment in matters of religion, and of the freedom of public worship according to the dictates of one's conscience.

"There will probably be found few persons in this or any other Christian country who would deliberately contend that it was unreasonable or unjust to foster and

encourage the Christian religion generally as a matter of sound policy as well as of revealed truth. In fact, every American colony, from its foundation down to the Revolution, with the exception of Rhode Island, if, indeed, that state be an exception,* did openly, by the whole course of its laws and institutions, support and sustain in some form the Christian religion; and almost invariably gave a peculiar sanction to some of its fundamental doctrines. And this has continued to be the case in some of the states down to the present period, without the slightest suspicion that it was against the principles of public law and republican liberty. Indeed, in a republic there would seem to be a peculiar propriety in viewing the Christian religion as the great basis on which it must rest for its support and permanence, if it be, what it has ever been deemed by its truest friends to be, the religion of liberty.

“Probably at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and of the amendment to it now under consideration [the first amendment], the general, if not the universal, sentiment in America was that Christianity ought to receive encouragement from the state so far as was not incompatible with the private rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. An attempt to level all religion, and to make it a matter of state policy to hold all in utter indifference, would have created universal disapprobation, if not universal indignation.

“It yet remains a problem to be solved in human affairs, whether any free government can be permanent when the public worship of God, and the support of religion constitute no part of the policy or duty of the state in any assignable shape. The future experience of

*That Rhode Island is no exception can be seen by the documents of her history already cited.

Christendom, and chiefly of the American states, must settle this problem as yet new in the history of the world, abundant as it has been in experiments in the theory of government.

"The real object of the Amendment was not to countenance, much less to advance, Mahometanism, or Judaism, or infidelity, by protecting Christianity, but to exclude all rivalry among Christian sects, and to prevent any national ecclesiastical establishment which should give to a hierarchy the exclusive patronage of the national government."*

Both Prof. Lieber and Justice Story simply affirm what was, in substance, embodied by Benjamin Franklin in his speech in the convention that framed our national Constitution in support of his motion for prayers. As this speech is a classic of our language on the religious duty of a nation, let it be given here in full:

"MR. PRESIDENT: The small progress we have made after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other—our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We, indeed, seem to feel our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. And we have viewed modern states all around Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able

*Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution* (Cooley's edition), vol. ii., pp. 603-606.

to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights to illumine our understanding? In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard, and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in that struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need His assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that *God governs in the affairs of men*. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that ‘except the Lord built the house, they labor in vain that build it.’ I firmly believe this; and I also believe that without His concurring aid we shall succeed, in this political building, no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial local interests; our projects will be confounded; and we ourselves shall become a reproach and by-word down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

“I, therefore, beg leave to move that, henceforth, prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that

one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.”*

What a sad record is it that the Madison Papers and Franklin's note to his speech give us! Prayers were not thought necessary, and the motion was lost by adjournment.† Had that motion carried, the Constitution framed by the Convention would not have been silent as the grave on our national duty to God and the claims of His Son.

In an address before the New York Historical Society, Daniel Webster said: “If we and our posterity shall be true to the Christian religion; if we and they shall live always in the fear of God, and shall respect His commandments; if we and they shall maintain just moral sentiments and such conscientious convictions of duty as shall control the heart and life, we may have the highest hopes of the future fortunes of our country; and if we maintain those institutions of government and that political union, exceeding all praise as much as it exceeds all former examples of political associations, we may be sure of one thing—that while our country furnishes materials for a thousand masters of the historic art, it will be no topic for a Gibbon, it will have no decline or fall. It will go on prospering and to prosper. But if we and our posterity reject religious instruction and authority, violate the rules of eternal justice, trifle with the injunction of morality, and recklessly destroy the political constitution which holds us together, no man can tell how sudden a catastrophe may overwhelm us that shall bury all our glory in profound obscurity.”‡

**Elliot's Debates*, vol. v., pp. 253, 254. See al also *Franklin's Works* (Sparks' edition), vol. v., page 153.

†*Ibid*, p. 255, and note on p. 597. Also *Franklin's Works*, as above.

‡This address is not included in the collected works of Webster. The passage above quoted is preserved from the news-

Prof. Taylor Lewis, who ranks with such political thinkers as Plato and Cicero of old, and Stahl and Mulford, thus demonstrates the necessary connection between the state and religion, or the impossibility of state neutrality in this matter, in opposition to the secular theory:

"The question, what is the state? may be answered theoretically or practically. The latter mode is preferred, because it brings us more directly in contact with certain other questions intimately connected with it, and which are becoming every day more urgent. Instead, therefore, of attempting to give its abstract idea by any *a priori* reasoning, let us endeavor to ascertain what it is as a *fact*—as a real power in the world. Its most practical definition may thus be found in what it actually *does*, or claims to do, and which nothing can prevent it from doing, whether any theory, true or false, would concede or deny such action as belonging to its essential nature.

"In thus defining it, it may be said, in the first place, that the state is a power claiming and exercising supreme jurisdiction over a certain portion of the earth. Here it acknowledges no superior unless it be God. It is the sovereign arbiter of life and death. It fixes the civil status; it regulates the social action; it determines, either directly or permissively, wholly or partially, according to its sovereign pleasure, the rights, duties and relations of all human beings within its territorial sway.

"The state assumes to determine the public good for which it exists, and for this end, true or false, claims the highest prerogatives of sovereignty, whether directly

paper reports of the day in Johnson's *Chaplains*, p. 55. In his oration on the landing at Plymouth, Mr. Webster said: "Government is made for man—man as a religious, moral, and social being." (*Works of Webster*, vol. ii., p. 215; see also another fine passage in vol. i., p. 48).

exercised or for any reasons held in abeyance. It is all there, either as an active or latent force. The state takes charge of the person and of the personal conduct. It defines crime. It makes its prohibitions and commands the measure of the lawful and the right. Hence, it raises or lowers, makes consistent or inconsistent, the standard of public morals, whether it disclaim any such intention or not. It employs force to an unlimited degree. It punishes by the infliction of pain to any amount it may deem necessary. It banishes, it imprisons, it puts to death.

"It is, however, enough for us here simply to present the picture of an omnipotent earthly power—a power of life and death, claiming unlimited and illimitable control over millions of human beings now existing, over generations yet unborn—determining, in fact, *how* they should be born, or under what conditions, with or without their consent, they should commence their individual earthly existence—above all, an *educating power*, educating by its laws and its political action, educating directly and positively by assuming to prescribe what shall be taught and what shall not be taught in the schools—a power that must, to a great extent, determine the social character, and fix the moral standard of an age, or of ages yet to come.

"Can such a power be neutral; can it be in a state of indifference in regard to a human interest so vital, so pervasive, so ineradicable, as that of religion? To every serious and intelligent mind the question would seem to answer itself from the very force of the terms in which it is stated. There are, however, arguments drawn from both reason and experience, which put beyond all controversy the proof of such impossibility. Whatever difficulties, therefore, may be in the way of adjustment,

we must prepare ourselves for the one side or the other of this dire alternative.

“The state must be for or against religion, for or against Christianity. That which may be called the mind or the disposition of the state, as exhibited in its legislation, its jurisprudence, its general political action, and above all, in its claim to be an educating power, must have an attitude of friendship or hostility. It cannot avoid contact with this vital, all-prevading influence, and that contact must be one of amity or repulsion.”

The intimate and necessary connection of religion with the very foundation of a nation's life is thus set forth as a matter of purely philosophical investigation by such writers as Schelling, Hegel, and Max Müller: “It was Schelling, one of the profoundest thinkers of Germany, who first asked the question, what makes an *ethnos*? What is the true origin of a people, ... Is it community of blood? I doubt it. Community of blood produces families, clans, possibly races, but it does not produce that higher and purely moral feeling which binds men together and makes them a people. It is language and religion that makes a people; but religion is even a more powerful agent than language. The most signal confirmation of this view is to be found in the history of the Jews, the chosen people of God. The language of the Jews differed from that of the Phenicians, the Moabites, and other neighboring tribes, much less than the Greek dialects differed from each other. But the worship of Jehovah made the Jews a peculiar people, the people of Jehovah, separated by their God, though not by their language, from the people of Chemosh (the Moabites), and from the worshippers of Baal and Ashtoreth. A people, as Schelling says, exists only when it has determined itself with regard to its mythology. Hegel, the great rival of Schelling,

arrived at the same conclusion. In his *Philosophy of History* he says: 'The idea of God constitutes the general foundation of a people. Whatever is the form of a religion, the same is the form of a state and its constitution; it springs from religion, so much so that the Athenian and Roman states were possible only with the peculiar heathendom of those peoples, and that even now a Roman Catholic state has a different genius and a different constitution from a Protestant state.'

"In affirming that the state is based on religion—that it has its roots in it—we virtually assert that the former has proceeded from the latter, and that this derivation is going on now and will always continue; *i.e.*, the principles of the state must be regarded as valid in and for themselves, which can only be in so far as they are recognized as determinate manifestations of the Divine nature. The form of religion, therefore, decides that of the state and its constitution."

Literature furnishes us with few examples of combined philosophy and eloquence, such as Père Hyacinthe's lecture on "Religion in the Life of Nations." This gifted orator says: "I propose to prove that religion is the principle of national existence and prosperity. I shall do this in two ways: First, by a general view, showing, not so much by reasoning as by history, how nations are constituted by their soul, and that this soul itself is quickened by religion; and then, with a more impressive particularity, tracing the action of the religious principle into the midst of the passions of public life, when it wakens and sustains those two forces, the loss of which nothing else can make good—social justice and patriotic faith. . . . The soul of a people is, above all, its religion. . . . The school of opinion against which I am contending thinks that it finds in the United States an example and model of the separation of the religious

and the national life. I do not know a more complete mistake. What is separated in the United States is the state and the church..... I am right, then, in saying, with our Holy Book, that righteousness is the salvation of nations, and that Christianity has for its mission upon earth to establish the kingdom of social as well as individual righteousness."

No better statements can be found with which to close this view of the philosophic basis of national Christianity than the words of Dr. Martensen, in his admirable treatise on Christian ethics: "No state can exist without moral ideas, which, in their turn, rest upon religious ideas, whether true or false. We define the Christian state as that whose fundamental moral ideas are determined by Christianity; as that which finds its most determining, therefore its supra-political impulses and ideas in the Christian view of life and of the world." "The inmost and deepest interest of humanity is not culture, but morality and religion. Humanity can neither be delivered from its limitations, nor come to a true knowledge of itself, without Christianity. Moreover, every notion of humanity which is not the Christian one, is more or less affected with falsehood. Hence the truly humanistic state is one, and the same with the Christian state." "The necessity for the Christianization of states rests upon the circumstance that the state is the realm of external justice. But external justice cannot be carried out or administered without internal justice; in other words, without a religious and moral disposition, by which alone it can come to pass that the laws are obeyed not from fear of punishment, but for conscience' sake."

Written and Unwritten Constitutions

The distinction between a written or enacted Consti-

tution and an unwritten or vital Constitution has been carefully drawn by the ablest political writers.

"The more we examine the influence of human agency in the formation of political constitutions, the greater will be our conviction that it enters there only in a manner infinitely subordinate, or as a simple instrument; and I do not believe there remains the least doubt of the incontestable truth of the following propositions: 1. That the fundamental principles of political constitutions exist before all written law. 2. That constitutional law is, and can only be, the development or sanction of an unwritten pre-existing right."

"No written constitution can exist *a priori* or have an *a priori* authority. There must have been an existing sovereignty to originate such constitutions." "The possession of sovereignty being a fact, and not an effect of law, whatever written memories or declarations of the rightfulness of any national sovereignty may exist, they can only proceed from itself, and they can only be taken as historical evidences of its existence."

"The Constitution of the United States is twofold—written and unwritten; the constitution of the people, and the constitution of the government. The written constitution is simply a law ordained by the nation or people instituting and organizing the government; the unwritten constitution is the real or actual constitution of the people as a state or sovereign community, and constituting them such or such a state. It is providential, not made by the nation, but born with it. The written constitution is made and ordained by the sovereign power, and presupposes that power as already existing and constituted."

"By the constitution of a commonwealth is meant, primarily, its make-up as a political organism; that special adjustment of instrumentalities, powers, and

functions by which its form and operations are determined. This is a constitution considered as an objective fact. Besides this, the term 'constitution' has a secondary meaning, which is, perhaps, more common than the one given, involving equally the conception of a system of political instrumentalities, powers and functions, specially adjusted for the purposes of government, but conceived of, not as an objective fact, but as a systematic written statement of such a fact, in the shape of formulæ addressed to the understanding. In other words, a constitution in this secondary sense is the result of an attempt to represent in technical language some particular constitution, existing as an objective fact. This is a constitution as an instrument of evidence."

"The constitution of the political people has a two-fold character: there is a real and a formal constitution. The one is the development of the nation in history, the historical constitution; the other is the formula which the nation prescribes for its order, the enacted constitution. The one is the organism; the other is the form for the organization of the nation. The one is in identity with the nation in its organic being—it is written only in the law in which the members are fashioned; the other is the method which the nation establishes for its jurisdiction, and the order to which the whole is to conform."

All these writers, while using each a somewhat peculiar terminology, point out essentially the same distinction. Whether we use the terms unwritten and written constitutions, or, constitution as objective facts and as instruments of evidence, or, the constitution of the nation and the constitution of its government, the essential point—the reality and necessity of the distinction—remains intact.

The relation which a written constitution sustains to the constitution of the nation for which it is framed,

demands that the former shall give legal expression to the essential principles of the latter, and authoritative sanction to the distinctive fundamental features of the national life.

On this point Judge Jameson writes as follows: "When a people frame a constitution in the second sense [a constitution as an instrument of evidence, or a written constitution of government], or make a law or treaty which becomes a part of such a constitution, what is the nature of their act? It is a translating into appropriate legal language, and a formal registering among the archives of the nation, stamped with the fiat which marks the national acquiescence and gives to it authenticity, of the constitution, or part of a constitution, which has in the progress of the nation and under the operation of its social forces, actually evolved itself as a fact."

On the same point Mr. Mulford writes: "The formal constitution must correspond to the real." "There can be no sacredness attaching to the abstract form, and neither devotion nor sacrifice for the constitution when it is regarded only as an abstract formula; it is sacred only in so far as it is affirmative of the law which is implicit in the nation, or as the life of the nation may be affected in its maintenance." "The life of a people cannot be sacrificed for a political form or a political dogma."

What firmer philosophical basis could the National Reform Movement ask for its great work of securing an undeniably legal basis in our written Constitution for the Christian facts of our national life? For what is the character of the vital constitution of this nation, in reference to morals and religion? And what "is the moral and religious character of the written constitution of its government? Is the latter, as it now stands, the translation into legal language of the former? Does it authenticate the nation's practical acquiescence in the

actually evolved and long upheld and distinctive features of our national life? Does it give authoritative sanction to institutions which largely form the vital constitution of the nation, evolved, as a fact, by its social forces? The vital constitution of this nation is and always has been unquestionably Christian. This land was originally settled, not by colonies of infidels or atheists or pagans, but by bands of Christian people. Every American colony, as a matter of state duty, recognized the Christian religion. In every case it was Christian men who founded our civil institutions on the basis of Christianity. The Bible was everywhere, the recognized standard of political morality. In the system of education projected by the colony of Massachusetts and imitated in other colonies, the Bible and the Christian religion was conspicuous. As Daniel Webster said, 'Our ancestors founded their government on morality and religious sentiment. They were brought hither by their high veneration of the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light, and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate it with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influences through all their institutions, civil, political, social and educational.' "

"Now, turning to the written Constitution, we are confronted with the fact that it has not a corresponding Christian character. Whatever traces of Christianity or of a recognition of God, good men may think they can find in it, it is notoriously the boast of the infidel and the atheist that in all questions concerning Sabbath laws, the Bible in the public schools, public fasts and thanksgivings appointed by the President, and all other similar questions, the Constitution is on their side. In two treaties made under the Constitution, and, according to its express provision, thus made part of the fundamental law of the land, it is distinctly declared that 'the gov-

ernment of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion.'

"Here we have a direct violation of what we have already seen to be a fundamental principle of constitutional law—a non-Christian, or rather, as it necessarily proves in its practical working, an anti-Christian constitution of government for a Christian people. Here we have the anomaly of a nation distinctively Christian in its civilization and institutions, with Christianity, as Chancellor Kent and numerous other eminent judges have decided, as its common law, adopting a constitution of government by which Mohammedanism or any other false religion, or even atheism, is in effect held to be as closely related and as beneficial to our national life as the one true religion, the religion of Christ. Here we have a nation undoubtedly Christian in its vital constitution, and yet a written constitution of government for it which, instead of giving legal expression and authentication to the facts of its real character, formulates a principle never evolved as a fact by the social forces of the nation—the principle that the religion of Mussulmans, that infidelity and atheism, politically and nationally viewed, shall be placed on a perfect equality with Christianity."

A non-Christian written Constitution and an unwritten Christian Constitution. These are the facts. Now, what is to be done? Let political science give the answer. And the answer is all the more striking and conclusive because it is not given in reference to any point in particular, but as a general principle, applicable to all points alike: "Not only may the people," says Judge Jameson, in such a case of want of correspondence, "but if they would insure peace with prosperity, they must by amendments cause the former to conform substantially to the latter."

Coming now to the second aspect of a nation's written constitution, political science teaches that it is "the fundamental law of the state, containing the principles on which the government is founded, and regulating the division of the sovereign powers, directing to what persons each of these powers is to be confided and the manner in which it is to be exercised. The constitution is made by the authority of the people themselves, ... and can be changed only by the like power. The legislature, which is the creature of the constitution, cannot make any change in such fundamental law."

Judge Jameson, with his customary clearness and fullness, thus distinguishes between a constitution or fundamental ordinance, and an ordinary law: "Ordinary laws are enactments and rules for the government of civil conduct, promulgated by the legislative authority of a state, or deducted from long established usage. It is an important characteristic of such laws that they are tentatory, occasional, and in the nature of temporary expedients. Fundamental laws, on the other hand, in politics are expressions of the sovereign will in relation to the structure of the government, the extent and distribution of its powers, the modes and principles of its operation, and the apparatus of checks and balances proper to insure its integrity and continued existence. Fundamental laws are primary, being the commands of the sovereign establishing the governmental machine, and the most general rules for its operation. Ordinary laws are secondary; fundamental laws precede ordinary laws in point of time, and embrace the settled policy of the state."

The application of this principle concerning fundamental law is the work of the National Reform Association. It regards the nation as sovereign under God, and the government as its agent. The nation speaks authori-

tatively in the Constitution on fundamental law, laying down principles and rules to govern its agent the government. A fundamental principle thus embodied in the Constitution is felt throughout the whole political structure erected upon it. The absence of a fundamental principle that ought to be there will also be powerfully felt. If ours is a Christian nation, born of Christian parentage, with a glorious inheritance of Christian institutions that we seek to preserve and pass down to children and children's children, we should register our national Christian aim and purpose in our fundamental law as the only way of giving it authoritative expression, to make it permanently binding upon the national government and upon all state governments as well. This is what a written Constitution is for, in its very nature; and if a Christian people will not thus embody their Christian principles of civil government in their organic law, as the supreme authoritative act of national life, they need not expect to remain a Christian people.

The logical effect of our national failure to express the Christian principles of government in our Constitution is thus admirably presented by Dr. T. P. Stevenson: "Most plausibly they [the enemies of our Christian laws and customs, such as Sabbath laws, and the Bible in the schools] reason thus: 'The Constitution is our political covenant, on the terms of which we have united in forming the American government. In that Constitution there is no reference to any system of morality or religion, and therefore, it is unfair to foist upon the government, in its administration, a religious character not agreed upon in our mutual covenant.' Or again they say: 'The Constitution is the charter of the government. It contains all the functions it may properly perform, all the powers it may ever exercise. The exercise of any religious function is, therefore, extra-constitutional, a clear de-

parture from that secular sphere which alone is covered by the language of the Constitution. This departure may have been tolerated by general consent in the past, but it must cease whenever any party falls back, as we now do, on the letter of the Constitution, and demands strict adherence to its provisions.' They have an argument in the silence of the Constitution, an argument which is strong in proportion to the overshadowing dignity and authority of that instrument, an argument which is used as a powerful lever to overturn the most cherished and important features of our institutions. We must wrest this argument from the unbeliever, or he will wrest from us every argument which defends our Christian institutions. We can no longer leave so precious, so vital a body of laws and usages as those which defend the Sabbath, Christian marriage, the sacred name of God, and the oath, exposed to the argument drawn from a Constitution which contains no utterance in their favor. We must throw around them the shield of constitutional provision, we must provide for them a basis in our fundamental law, or they perish out of our life as a nation."

Right of a Christian People to a Christian Government

A principle of political science too frequently ignored in our day and in our country is the right of society as against the so-called rights of the individual. True liberty, and that means both civil and religious liberty, regards the rights of the whole body as well as the rights of the constituent members of the social unit. Indeed, its chief regard must be for the former, inasmuch as the maintenance and security of these is essential to the maintenance and security of the latter. Dr. Francis Lieber, the eminent publicist already quoted on other important points, defining true liberty, says:

"It consists in the civil guarantees of those principles which are most favorable to a manly independence, and ungrudged enjoyment of individual humanity; and *those guarantees which insure the people, meaning the totality of the individuals as a unit, or the nation*, against being driven from the pursuit of those high aims which have been assigned to it by Providence as a nation or as a united people. Where the one or the other is omitted, or exclusively pursued, there is no full liberty."

If it is asked what the rights of society are, the answer is found in the words of the above extract—"the pursuit of those high aims which have been assigned to it by Providence as a nation." And if Providence, interpreted by the historical and documentary evidence given in the preceding chapter of this Manual, has assigned to America one high aim above all others, it is to maintain her Christian institutions of government. Our country has no enemies to be so greatly dreaded as those aggressors who, in the name of religious liberty and individual rights of conscience, are infringing upon the rights of a Christian people. If those men but knew it, in their assaults upon our national Christianity they are striking at the bulwarks of the nation's freedom, and destroying their own liberties. The National Reform Association is striving to prevent the nation from being driven from the high Christian aims assigned to it by Providence, and in this noble work it is the champion of the truest liberty. It would save those inherited institutions of national Christianity which have been giving to the men who seek to strike them down, the very rights and privileges which they now enjoy, and of which, in their blindness, they would rob both themselves and others.

Judge Cooley, while vigorously defending religious freedom, and while making concessions that would em-

barrass the maintenance of our National Christianity, still holds that the civil authorities should not be restrained "from such solemn recognition of a superintending Providence in public transactions and exercises as the general religious sentiment of mankind inspires, and as seems meet and proper in finite and dependent beings. Whatever may be the shades of religious belief, all must acknowledge the fitness of recognizing in important human affairs the superintending care and control of the Governor of the universe, and of acknowledging with thanksgiving His boundless favors, or bowing in contrition when visited with the penalties of His broken laws. Nor, while recognizing a superintending Providence, are we always precluded from recognizing also, in the rules prescribed for the conduct of the citizen, the notorious fact that the prevailing religion in the states is Christian." "The same reasons of state policy which induce the government to aid institutions of charity and seminaries of instruction will incline it also to foster religious worship and religious institutions, as conservators of the public morals, and valuable, if not indispensable, assistants to the preservation of the public order."

The Supreme Court of Maine has given clear and strong expression to the right of the state as against that of the individual. Suit was brought by a scholar against the superintending school committee, who required the reading of the Bible by all the school. Judge Appleton held that a citizen is not absolved from obedience to rules and laws, "because they may conflict with his conscientious views of religious duty or right. To allow this would be to subordinate the state to the individual conscience. With the laws dispensed with whenever they happen to come into collision with some

supposed religious obligation, government would be perpetually falling short of the exigency."

The Legislature of New York has borne a remarkable testimony to this principle of true religious liberty. Its act of April 11, 1842, intended to guard rights of conscience in connection with the Christian common schools, of which the origin was given in the preceding chapter, provides that "nothing herein contained shall authorize the Board of Education [of the city of New York] to exclude the Holy Scriptures, without note or comment, or any selections therefrom, from any of the schools provided for in this act."

Free schools, free to the masses of the people, and free as seminaries of liberty, not of licentiousness, while they are not to be sectarian, are nevertheless not to be secular or godless, but Christian. To be and continue free, they must be Christian.

Summing up these principles of Christian political science we have:

1. The nation is a collective being, with moral character and accountability, directly responsible to the Author of its existence, God Himself.

2. As such a moral being, a true moral person, it is under the moral law of the Supreme Ruler of nations, which includes both the law of nature and the Revealed Will of God.

3. The necessary aims of national life compel the nation, in its own proper sphere, as distinct from that of the church, to have regard to the moral laws of the Christian religion, and to base its action upon these or set itself against them.

4. The written constitution of a nation to which Providence has given an unwritten and vital Christian constitution, should correspond, in explicit terms, to that which it is designed to express and authenticate; and

the Christian principles which are fundamental to the nation's life should be embodied in fundamental law as the supreme rule, under God, of the government which the nation establishes as its agent.

5. Christianity, as "the perfect law of liberty" for nations as well as individuals, can infringe on no man's rights of conscience. In being true to this law, the nation best preserves its own rights and liberties, and those of all its citizens and subjects.

On this firm and sound philosophical basis, in harmony with all the highest names in the political science of every civilized land, the National Reform Movement finds its impregnable foundation.

CHAPTER V

The Scriptural Basis of the Movement

We have found a broad historical and documentary basis for our national Christianity. Back of that we have found a solid philosophical and scientific basis. Going a step farther, we come to the substructure that lies underneath all, and that is the foundation given in the Word of God.

Granting that the Bible is the revelation of the will of the Moral Governor of this world, we are constrained to accept its laws as authoritative in every department of human life. It would not be the perfect and adequate revelation of the will of God to our race if it did not give us all the principles of conduct in so important a department of human life as that of the state. And as a matter of fact a large part of the Bible, especially the historical books of the Old Testament and the prophets, including the Apocalypse of the New Testament, together with important passages of the Psalms, Proverbs, the gospels and epistles, deals with the principles of political science. The political philosophy of the Bible is a subject never yet adequately treated. Nothing more than a general survey of this important field can be taken in a handbook like this. The teachings of Scripture are formulated in systematic order, and the passages from which these formulated truths are deduced are quoted in full, both for the confirmation of the deductions, and for the convenience of workers who may use this Manual.

Scriptural Teachings as to the Origin and Nature of the Nation.

1. God is the Author of all national life.

DEUTERONOMY 26:19.—“To make thee high above all nations which he hath made.”

PSALM 86:9.—“All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name.”

ACTS 17:24-26.—“God that made the world and all things therein . . . hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth.”

2. God brings each particular nation into existence in its own time in the progress of the world's history.

ACTS 17:26.—“And hath determined the times before appointed.”

3. God gives to each nation its own rightful territory.

ACTS 17:26.—“And the bounds of their habitation.”

4. It is, therefore, God's prerogative, as the Just Ruler of nations, to take away national life, as well as to bestow and maintain it.

JEREMIAH 18:7-10.—“At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up and to pull down, and to destroy it: if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it: if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them.”

5. The nation, a being which God creates, and which he rewards for its righteousness, or destroys for its sins, is a moral being to which God has given supreme moral law.

DEUTERONOMY 6:1-3.—“Now these are the commandments, the statutes and the judgments which the Lord your God commanded to teach you, that ye might do them in the land whither ye go to possess it: that thou mightest fear the Lord thy God, to keep all his statutes and commandments which I command thee, thou, and thy son, and thy son's son all the days of thy life; and that thy days may be prolonged. Hear, therefore, O Israel, and observe to do it; that it may be well with thee, and that ye may increase mightily, as the Lord God of thy fathers

hath promised thee, in the land that floweth with milk and honey."

DEUTERONOMY 8:1.—"All the commandments which I command thee this day shall ye observe to do, that ye may live, and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers."

6. Civil government, the institution for the regulation and control of national life, is in its principle the ordinance of God, and is to be obeyed as such a divine ordinance.

ROMANS 13:1, 2.—"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God."

7. Civil government, in its framework or constitution, the distribution and arrangement of its powers, is the ordinance of man.

1 PETER 2:13, 14—"Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

Gathering up the above teachings of the Old and New Testaments, applying alike to the nation of the Jews and to the Gentile nations, we have what Christian political science teaches, as shown in the preceding chapter, in reference to the origin and nature of the nation. It is a moral being, born into the family of nations, in the providence of God, with a vital unwritten constitution, its territorial possessions and its place in history determined by the Supreme Governor of nations, capable of obeying or disobeying the divine law of its being, both in reference to the written constitution, which it lays down for the direction of the government, its agent, and in reference to its entire conduct in its organic and collective character, and sure to be punished or rewarded accordingly.

The above passages also show conclusively that civil government is a divine ordinance, and that the state as

an institution is founded in the nature of man. When God made man he made him a social being, with the principles of the family and the state of his nature. This is the foundation of the teachings of the authors in political science before quoted, who distinguish between commercial and other companies, or the artificial persons which are created by human law, and natural persons, the nations and states of international law, which are the creations of divine power.

Hence, just as the legal person deriving its corporate existence from the state is bound to acknowledge in its charter the political power which gives it existence, so the nation, which derives its being from God, and its authority from that ultimate and divine Source, is bound to acknowledge in its charter or fundamental law the Author of its being and Source of its authority.

The Scriptures require Moral and Religious, not Ecclesiastical, Qualifications and Duties of Civil Officers

1. Civil rulers are ministers of God, deriving all just authority ultimately from him.

PROVERBS 8:15, 16.—“By me [the Personal Wisdom of God, or God in Christ] kings reign, and princes decree justice. By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth.”

ROMANS 13:4-6.—“For he [the civil magistrate] is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.”

2. Civil officers hold their trust from God, through the people, to protect and enforce right, and restrain and punish evil-doers.

See above, ROMANS 13:4-6. Also verse 3.—“For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.”

1 PETER 2:13, 14.—“Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake; whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well.”

3. Hence, none but able, just, and God-fearing men should be exalted to the office of civil ruler.

EXODUS 18:21.—“Thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.”

2 SAMUEL 23:2, 3.—“The Spirit of the Lord spake by me, and his word was in my tongue. The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spake to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God.”

4. When immoral men are elevated to the civil magistracy, wickedness and wicked men are encouraged.

PSALM 12:8.—“The wicked walk on every side, when the vilest men are exalted.”

5. Civil rulers are enjoined to learn Christ’s law, and acknowledge and obey him as King.

PSALM 2:10-12.—“Be wise now, therefore, O ye kings: be instructed, ye judges of the earth. Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry, and ye perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a little. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him.”

6. They are required to consult God’s revealed law as the great law-book of the nation.

DEUTERONOMY 17:18-20.—“And it shall be when he sitteth on the throne of his kingdom, that he shall write him a copy of this law in a book out of that which is before the priests the Levites: and it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this law and these statutes, to do them; that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment, to the right hand, or to the left: to the end that he may prolong his days in his kingdom, he, and his children, in the midst of Israel.”

7. Just and God-fearing rulers bring the clear sunshine of peace and prosperity to a nation.

2 SAMUEL 23:3, 4.—“He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God. And he shall be as the light of the morning, when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds; as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain.”

The Scriptures Teach that Christ is Ruler of Nations

1. Jesus Christ as Mediator, has all power and universal dominion committed to him, which must include authority over nations.

MATTHEW 28:18.—“And Jesus came and spake unto them, saying, All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.”

JOHN 5:22, 23.—“The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son; that all men should honor the Son even as they honor the Father. He that honoreth not the Son honoreth not the Father which hath sent him.”

ACTS 10:36.—“Jesus Christ, he is Lord of all.”

1 CORINTHIANS 15:27.—“He [the Father] hath put all things under his [the Son's] feet.”

PHILIPPIANS 2:9-11.—“God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name; that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father.”

2. Various titles are given to Christ as Ruler of nations.

PSALM 22:28.—“The kingdom is the Lord's, and he is the governor among the nations.”

ISAIAH 33:22.—“The Lord is our judge; the Lord is our law-giver; the Lord is our king; he will save us.”

JEREMIAH 10:6, 7.—“There is none like unto thee, O Lord; thou art great, and thy name is great in might. Who would not fear thee, O King of nations? for to thee doth it appertain.”

1 TIMOTHY 6:14, 15.—“Our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . who is the blessed and only Potentate, King of kings and Lord of lords.”

REVELATION 1:5.—“Jesus Christ, . . . the Prince of the kings of the earth;” chapter 17:14—“He is Lord of lords and King of kings;” chapter 19:16—“He hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.”

3. Christ actually rules as King of nations by punishing them for their violations of his law.

PSALM 2:1-5, 9.—“Why do the nations rage, and the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed [literally, his Messiah, or his Christ], saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his wrath, and vex them in his sore displeasure. . . . Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel.”

PSALM 9:17.—“The wicked shall be turned into hell [sheol], and all the nations that forget God” [into their sheol, or national destruction].

PSALM 110:1, 2, 5, 6.—“The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool. . . . Rule thou in the midst of thine enemies. . . . The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath. He shall judge among the nations.”

ISAIAH 60:12.—“The nation and kingdom that will not serve thee [the church of Christ; *i. e.*, that will not order their government in connection with the moral principles of the Christian religion] shall perish; yea, those nations shall be utterly wasted.”

REVELATION 2:27.—“As the vessel of a potter shall they [rebellious nations] be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father.”

REVELATION 19:11-15.—“In righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns. . . . And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood; and his name is called The Word of God. . . . And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.”

Compare also Leviticus 26:14-39; Deuteronomy 28: 15-68; Judges 2:12-15; Isaiah 63:1-4; Revelation 6:15, 16. This truth stands out on every page of Bible history and prophecy.

4. Christ rewards nations that obey him as their Ruler.

DEUTERONOMY 28:1-14.—“And it shall come to pass, if thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and to do all his commandments which I command thee this day, that the Lord thy God will set thee on high above all the nations of the earth: and all these blessings shall come on thee, and overtake thee, if thou shalt hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God.” Blessed shalt thou be in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field. Blessed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy ground, and the fruit of thy cattle, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. Blessed shall be thy basket and thy store. Blessed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and blessed shalt thou be when thou goest out. The Lord shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face: they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee the seven ways. The Lord shall command the blessings upon thee in thy storehouses, and in all that thou settest thine hand unto; and he shall bless thee in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee. The Lord shall establish thee an holy people unto himself, as he hath sworn unto thee, if thou shalt keep the commandments of the Lord thy God,

and walk in his ways. And all people of the earth shall see that thou art called by the name of the Lord; and they shall be afraid of thee. And the Lord shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground, in the land which the Lord sware unto thy fathers to give thee. The Lord shall open unto thee his good treasure, the heaven to give the rain unto thy land in his season, and to bless all the work of thine hand: and thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. And the Lord shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the Lord thy God., which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them; and thou shalt not go aside from any of the words which I command thee this day, to the right hand, or to the left, to go after other gods to serve them."

PSALM 2:12.—"Blessed are all they [all nations and their rulers, as is clear from the preceding verses] that put their trust in him" [in the Son, the Messiah or Christ].

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PSALM 33:12.—"Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; and the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance."

PSALM 144:11-15.—"Rid me, and deliver me from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood; that our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth; that our daughters may be as corner stones, polished after the similitude of a palace; that our garners may be full, affording all manner of store; that our sheep may bring forth thousands and ten thousands in our streets; that our oxen may be strong to labor; that there be no breaking in nor going out; that there be no complaining in our streets. Happy is that people that is in such a case; yea, happy is that people whose God is the Lord."

Compare also Leviticus 26:3-13; Deuteronomy 6:12-15; Proverbs 14:34.—This truth, the counterpart of the preceding, is also illustrated by the whole history of the Bible.

5. Christ provides for the pardon of nations that confess and forsake their sins.

LEVITICUS 26:40-42.—"If they shall confess their iniquity, and the iniquity of their fathers, with their trespass which they trespassed against me, and that also they have walked contrary unto me, and that I have walked contrary unto them, and have brought them into the land of their enemies: if then their uncircumcised hearts be humbled, and they then accept of the punishment of their iniquity; then will I remember my covenant with Jacob, and also my covenant with Isaac, and also my covenant with Abraham will I remember, and I will remember the land."

1 KINGS 8:33, 34.—“When thy people Israel be smitten down before the enemy, because they have sinned against thee, and shall turn again to thee, and confess thy name, and pray, and make supplication to thee in [or toward] this house; then hear thou in heaven, and forgive the sin of thy people Israel, and bring them again unto the land which thou gavest unto their fathers.” [See also 2 Chronicles 6:24, 25.]

JEREMIAH 18:7, 8.—“At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them.”

JONAH 3:5-10.—“So the people of Nineveh believed God, and proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth, from the greatest of them even unto the least of them. For word came unto the king of Nineveh, and he arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste anything; let them not feed nor drink water; but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth and cry mightily unto God; yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not.”

6. The Scriptures foretell the day when all nations shall acknowledge and obey Christ as their Ruler, and shall be blessed under his glorious reign.

PSALM 22:27.—“All the ends of the world shall remember and turn unto the Lord; and all the kindreds of the nations shall worship before thee.”

PSALM 72:8, 11, 17.—“He shall have dominion also from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the earth. . . . Yea, all kings shall fall down before him; all nations shall serve him. . . . His name shall endure forever; his name shall be continued as long as the sun: and men shall be blessed in him; all nations shall call him blessed.”

PSALM 86:9.—“All nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship before thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy name.”

ISAIAH 2:2-4.—“And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established on the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; and he will teach us of his

ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

DANIEL 7:13, 14, 27.—"I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. . . . And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

REVELATIONS 11:15.—"And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign forever and ever."*

The substance of the above teachings as to the relation of the nation to Christ is comprised in the actions of our national government, both during the revolutionary war and the war of the rebellion. The resolution of the United States Senate, in 1863, either directly acknowledges or clearly implies the following points: 1. Christ's rulership over nations; 2. The punishments that justly come by violation of his law; 3. The reward of national obedience to his authority; 4. The way of pardon through him, by confession and reformation. Mere Deism was not sufficient for us in our national straits. That could not save us. We then felt our need of the

*It has been estimated that two-fifths of the Bible is devoted to this civil side of religion. It was given to teach men how to erect states and carry on governments. In this two-fifths of the Bible there is a wealth of illustration and application of the above citations that support and illuminate them, which is beyond the thought of present day Christianity. It is just this work of socializing Christianity that is the task of this present age. It is only by making this application of Christianity the commonplace of Christian thought that the present achievements of Christianity can be conserved or any further progress be made in establishing the Kingdom of Christ on the earth.

Saviour, and were not ashamed to call upon him. And infidelity, atheism, and every other opponent of Christianity, were awed into silence, while a smitten people looked to the one and only Mediator between God and man. The national homage that was due to Christ in that day of calamity, and that was so willingly rendered then, is due now and always, and should be rendered with equal alacrity in our days of peace and prosperity.

The National Reform Association will be satisfied with no aim short of the honor due to the royal person of Jesus Christ. It had its origin in loyalty and devotion to that Name which is above every name. It has gone forward steadfastly contending for his crown rights. Its prayer to him who is acknowledged King of the Church has ever been:

“Come, then, and, added to thy many crowns,
Receive yet one, the crown of all the earth,
Thou who alone art worthy.”

Its purpose is breathed in the hymn which is fittingly sung to the triumphant strains of “Coronation:”

“All hail the power of Jesus name,
Let angels prostrate fall.
Bring forth the royal diadem
And crown him Lord of all.”

Its motto, engraved on the hearts of its members as well as on its official seal, is, “Pro Christo et Patria,” “For Christ and Fatherland.”

CHAPTER VI

The Basis of the Movement in the Law of Self-Defense

Secularism in our country, as has been shown already, is the assailant. It is seeking the overthrow of existing institutions. It aims at the utter de-Christianizing of the state. Wherever there is a bond of connection between Christianity and the state or nation, it would ruthlessly sunder the tie. Nor have the efforts of the advocates of secularism been in vain. They have succeeded in banishing the Bible from the schools of a number of our large cities and smaller towns, and in repealing the Sabbath laws of some of our States. They have won to their side many Christian leaders. The National Reform Movement arrays the friends of Christian government on the defensive against these aggressions of secularism. It stands guard over what yet remains of the inheritance bequeathed to us by our fathers. How great the need is for this defensive movement will appear from a partial survey of the assault of the enemy.

The first clear manifestation of secularism in our national life was in the defeat of Franklin's motion for prayers in the Convention that framed the Constitution of the United States. Following consistently upon this was the completion of the work of the Convention in the framing of an instrument from which all acknowledgment of God was excluded. Justice Story's testimony, already cited, as to the intention of the mass of the American people in adopting the Constitution, is unquestionably true. Yet there were many members of the Convention, and many more throughout the coun-

try, who accepted the secular theory as to our nation. Luther Martin, a member of the Convention from Maryland, in his letter to the Legislature of his State, giving an account of the formation of the instrument, says: "There were some members so unfashionable as to think that a belief of the existence of a Deity, and of a state of future rewards and punishments, would be some security for the good conduct of our rulers, and that, in a Christian country, it would be at least decent to hold out some distinction between the professors of Christianity and downright infidelity or paganism."*

Next followed the two Tripolitan treaties, which, according to Article VI. of the Constitution, were a part of the supreme law of the land, in both of which the Christian character of our government was explicitly denied. One of them reads: "The government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion; it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Mussulmans."†

This denial of all Christian character to our government, was, of course, based on the written Constitution. In harmony with this, as thus interpreted, Thomas Jefferson, when President, repeatedly refused to appoint a day of national fasting and prayer, notwithstanding all the precedents in the administration of the government by his predecessors, on the express ground that he was prohibited from such official acknowledgment of religion by the Constitution: "I have long wished to find occasion of saying why I do not proclaim fasts and thanksgivings as my predecessors did. . . . I know it will give great offense to the New England clergy; but the advocate of

*Elliott's *Debates*, vol. i., pp. 385,386.

†Article XI. of Treaty with Tripoli, dated January 3, 1797. See United States Revised Statutes (edition of 1875), p. 756.

religious freedom is to expect neither peace nor forgiveness from them." "I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions."

Frequently, however, Mr. Jefferson officially acknowledged God, and even urged the nation to join with himself in the duty of prayer: "I shall need, too, the favor of that Being in whose hands we are, who led our forefathers, as Israel of old, from their native land, and planted them in a country flowing with all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his providence, and our riper years with his wisdom and power; and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations." (Close of second Inaugural, March 4, 1805, *Statesman's Manual*, vol. i., p. 176.) See also the first Inaugural and several Messages to Congress. In the beautiful words quoted from the second Inaugural the President gave utterance to the sentiments of the American people, being pressed by the occasion and circumstances to what he might not otherwise have spoken.

This brings us down to the famous controversy about the United States mail on the Lord's Day. Post offices in the large towns were gradually opened about the beginning of this century, largely during Jefferson's administrations, for a part of the Sabbath. This was simply a matter of local arrangement. The law neither required nor prohibited it. In 1810 Congress passed an elaborate "act regulating the post office establishment," providing "that every postmaster shall keep an office, in which one or more persons shall attend on every day on

which a mail, or bag, or other packet or parcel of letters shall arrive, by land or water, as well as on other days, at such hours as the postmaster-general shall direct, for the purpose of performing the duties thereof; and it shall be the duty of the postmaster, at all reasonable hours, on every day of the week, to deliver, on demand, any letter, paper, or packet to the person entitled to or authorized to receive the same."

Soon after the war of 1812 petitions were presented to Congress for the correction of the evil, and a respectful report was made by the postmaster-general; but the plea of public convenience prevailed, and the evil rapidly grew worse. The act of Congress of March 3, 1825, "reducing into one the several acts establishing and regulating the post office department," reaffirmed the duty of every postmaster to deliver mail matter "at all reasonable hours on every day of the week." Following this enactment was the legitimate fruit of a vast increase in Sabbath desecration. A document of that period says: "In many towns, both large and small, the post office is so located as to attract crowds of idlers, who do not pretend to any plea of necessity. The young, if they have not pious parents or guardians, are led, by this public and authorized show of business, to disregard the Sabbath."

At length, in December, 1828, a large and influential committee, representing different religious denominations, was appointed in New York, and an invitation was sent forth to Christian citizens all over the country to co-operate in an effort to arrest Sabbath desecration, and petitions were poured into both branches of Congress for the enactment of a law, or for some effective measure, by which the transportation of the mail and the delivery of letters on the Lord's Day should be prohi-

bited. These petitions came in large numbers from the Southern States.

Both Houses of Congress adopted reports on these petitions, justifying and continuing the carrying and distribution of the mail, on the ground that the United States government is purely secular. The entire report, submitted in the Senate by Col. Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, and adopted January 19, 1829, is an attack upon the Christian idea of the obligation of the Sabbath. The following year the same gentleman submitted a report in the House of Representatives, adopted March 5, in which the secular theory of government is again set forth as the justification of the transportation and delivery of the mail.

Such acceptance and defense of secularism by the national government was sure to tell upon the States. Only two examples of this unhappy influence will be cited here. The recent tragic death of Judge Terry, of California, recalls one of them. When he was Chief Justice of that State a case came before the Supreme Court during the April term, 1858, in which the main question was the enforcement of the Sabbath law of the commonwealth. The Sabbath law was pronounced unconstitutional on the same secular ground on which Congress had refused to prevent the desecration of the Lord's Day. Chief Justice Terry held that the enforcement of the Sabbath law of the State was a discrimination in favor of Christians, and a violation of the religious freedom of others; and that "the legislature has no right to forbid or enjoin the lawful pursuit of a lawful occupation on one day of the week, any more than it can forbid it altogether." In the same case Judge Burnett held that "there can be no higher law for this court than the Constitution; and in determining this question of constitutional construction, we must forget, as far as in

us lies, that we are religious or irreligious men. . . . The Constitution of this State will not tolerate any discrimination or preference in favor of any religion; and, so far as the common law conflicts with this provision, it must yield to the Constitution. Our constitutional theory regards all religions, *as such*, equally entitled to protection, and all equally unentitled to any preference.”*

The second of these instances in our States is the celebrated school case in Ohio. The Superior Court of Cincinnati had sustained an injunction restraining the School Board of the city from prohibiting the reading of the Bible and the use of the Lord's Prayer and Christian songs in the common schools. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the State, and the injunction was dissolved. This decision was based on the gravest perversion of the meaning of the clause in the Ohio Constitution taken from the old Congressional Ordinance for the government of the territory of the northwest. The word “religion” in that Ordinance and in the Constitution of Ohio meant nothing else in the minds of the framers of those instruments than Christianity. Yet Judge Welch had the hardihood to deny this. He said: “If by this generic word ‘religion’ was really meant ‘the Christian religion’ or ‘Bible religion,’ why was it not plainly so written?”

Let friends of Christian government note this, and learn the necessity of a clear, express, and unequivocal acknowledgment of Christianity in our fundamental law, if they would retain our Christian institutions of State and nation.

But Judge Welch proceeds: “The same word ‘religion,’ and in much the same connection, is found in the Constitution of the United States. The latter Constitu-

**Ex parte* Newmann, 9 *California Reports*, pp. 502-512.

tion at least, if not our own also, in a sense, speaks to *mankind*, and speaks of the rights of *man*. Neither the word "Christianity," "Christian," nor "Bible" is to be found in either. When they speak of "religion," they must mean the religion of man, and not the religion of any class of men."*

All such official action as the above is in perfect harmony with the avowed sentiments of the enemies of Christian institutions. The principles of the following examples of secularism are more coarsely expressed, but are the same in substance as in the official acts cited. Said a secularist orator: "Free Germans and citizens of America, let us join hand in hand with all other free citizens around us, to oppose a law [the Sabbath law of New York] which is unjust, and an infringement on our sacred liberty. The Sunday laws are only the tools used by cliques of politicians to further their own ambitious ends in opposition to the interests of mankind. They are upheld in the sacred name of religion. We all have our own views of religion, and we mean to keep them without infringement or being forced to adopt those of other men. We honor all days, and consider what is right to be done on one day is right to be done on another. Men should be left to the exercise of their own judgment in regard to the way they spend their time. If they wish pleasure, let them have it; if they wish social enjoyment and enlivening music, let them have it. This is freedom."†

Again, an avowed secularist newspaper thus elegantly discourses: "As frogs in the swamp from time to time raise their heads and fill the air with their melodi-

*Board of Education vs. *Minor et al.*, 23 *Ohio State Reports*, p. 246.

†Report of meeting, in *New York Spectator*, September 13, 1859.

ous croaking, and then sink back into their slimy element, so the Sunday-saints raise their heads up and down out of the swamp of their church creed, and croak, 'Sanctify the Sabbath! Desecrate not the Day of the Lord!' Such a frog-concert was held on Friday afternoon before the Commissioners of Police, to whom a delegation of frog-heads presented a memorandum, in which an earnest protest was made against the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sunday, and the faithful execution of the Sunday laws was demanded."

The word "secularism" means a system which belongs to this world of time and sense, without any reference to another world or a Divine Spirit. Hence, that the secular theory of government is political atheism needs only to be stated to be proved. This is openly avowed by candid secularists.

That political secularism or political atheism roots itself naturally in infidelity and irreligion needs no further proof than the following recent utterances of the most notorious scoffer and atheist in America: "The government of the United States is secular. It derives its power from the consent of man. It is a government with which God has nothing whatever to do—and all forms and customs inconsistent with the fundamental fact that the people are the source of authority, should be abandoned. In this country there be no oaths—no man should be sworn to tell the truth, and in no court should there be any appeal to any Supreme Being. A rascal by taking the oath appears to go in partnership with God, and ignorant jurors credit the firm instead of the man. A witness should tell his story, and if he speaks falsely should be considered as guilty of perjury. Governors and presidents should not issue religious proclamations. They should not call upon the people to thank God. It is no part of their official duty. It is

outside of and beyond the horizon of their authority. There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States to justify this religious impertinence.

“For many years priests have attempted to give to our government a religious form. Zealots have succeeded in putting the legend upon our money, ‘In God we Trust,’ and we have chaplains in the army and navy, and legislative proceedings are usually opened with prayer. All this is contrary to the genius of the Republic, contrary to the Constitution of the United States. We have taken the ground that the people can govern themselves, without the assistance of any supernatural power. We have taken the position that the people are the real and only rightful source of authority. We have solemnly declared that the people must determine what is politically right and what is wrong, and that their legally expressed will is the supreme law. This leaves no room for national superstition—no room for patriotic gods or supernatural beings—and this does away with the necessity for political prayers.” “In 1776 our fathers endeavored to retire the gods from politics. . . . They appealed from the providence of God to the providence of man.” Let the reader judge of the value of these flippant utterances in the light of the facts of that period of our nation’s history. That very year our fathers called on God in earnest prayer both in Congress and throughout the Colonies, and at the request of Congress, confessed their sin, sought pardon “through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ,” and in the Declaration of Independence expressed their “firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE.” The only value such reckless and frothy writings as this article in the *Arena* can have is to show the logic of secularism, and drive all lovers of the truths of our historical Christianity who may doubt the wisdom of all the aims

of the National Reform Association to the full acceptance of its platform and heartier co-operation in its work.

This secular or anti-Christian theory of civil government reaches its full logical development in

The Demands of Liberalism:

"1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

"2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

"3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

"4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

"5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States, or by the Governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts shall wholly cease.

"6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

"7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

"8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of 'Christian' morality shall be abrogated, and

that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

"9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made."

Associations have been formed in many cities and towns for the furtherance of these demands, and on the 4th of July, 1876, a National Congress of representatives from these societies assembled in the city of Philadelphia, and organized the "National Liberal League." We quote from its Constitution:

"WHEREAS, The Constitution of the United States, from beginning to end, in spirit and in letter, is framed in accordance with the principle of the total separation of church and state; and the Treaty with Tripoli, signed by George Washington as a part of the supreme law of the land, declares emphatically that 'the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion;' and

"WHEREAS, Notwithstanding these facts, the administration of the national government, and the administrations and Constitutions of the several State governments, maintain numerous practical connections of the state with the church, thereby violating the spirit of the United States Constitution and the glorious traditions which dedicate the country exclusively to the natural rights of man; . . .

"Therefore, We, the members of the Centennial Congress of Liberals, convened at Philadelphia from

July 1 to July 4, 1876, hereby associate ourselves together as a permanent organization, and adopt the following constitution:

"ARTICLE I. The name of this Association shall be 'The National Liberal League.'

* * * * *

"ARTICLE III. The specific objects of the National Liberal League shall be . . . 2. To advocate the equitable taxation of church property: the total discontinuance of religious instruction and worship in the public schools; the repeal of all laws enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath; the cessation of all appropriations of public funds for religious institutions or purposes of any kind; the abolition of State-paid chaplaincies; the substitution of simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury for the judicial oath; the non-appointment of religious fasts, festivals, and holidays by public authority; the practical establishment of simple morality and intelligence as the basis of purely secular government and the adequate guaranty of public order, prosperity, and righteousness; and whatever other measures or principles may be necessary to the total separation of church and state."

The resolutions adopted at this Congress protested against the proclamation of President Grant inviting the people to celebrate the 4th of July in the Centennial year by religious observances; against the closing of the International Exhibition on the Sabbath; against the avowed endeavor of the government to "Christianize the Indians," and against the motto "In God we Trust" on the national coins and recommended the bust of Thomas Paine for permanent preservation in Independence Hall.

In January 1926 there was chartered in the state of New York, The American Association for the Advance-

ment of Atheism. This organization is the first Atheist society to enjoy the quasi authority of the state in its attempts to delete Christianity from every part of our civil organization. It has taken over the work, and the aims of the Liberal League, including its "Nine Demands" and as an additional feature of its work has organized Junior Atheists Leagues and College Atheists Leagues which it calls after the precedent of one organized in Rochester University, "Damned Souls Clubs." These are today reported as existing in several of the State Universities of the country. Fortunately, however, Christian American statesmen are becoming aware of the dangerous tendency of these movements and their attacks in recent years largely fail. They succeeded in defeating the Initiative Measure in California in 1926 which sought to make the reading of the Bible in the public schools a requirement, but have so far lost every suit instituted in the courts of the various states to exclude the Bible and all religious and moral instruction based upon religion from the public schools.

The most deplorable aspect of this assault of the secular theory of government on our Christian institutions, however, is the fact that so many professing Christians have been led to join the ranks of the assailants. It seems almost incredible that men who accept the moral laws of the Christian religion, and who desire to honor Christ as King, can so far ignore our history as a nation founded on Christian truth, and be so blind both to the teachings of sound political science, and the inevitable logic of secularism, as to strike hands with the aggressive movement that cannot rest till it accomplishes the utter de-Christianizing of our institutions.

We might be less surprised if only such men as Horace Greeley, who claimed to be a liberal Christian, espoused the gospel of secularism. Yet it was sad to

hear so earnest a patriot as he was say: "We deny that this is a Christian nation. France, Spain, Russia, Austria, Mexico, Portugal, Brazil etc., *are* Christian nations, no matter how many of their people may be non-Christians; this country is *not* Christian, though a majority of its inhabitants probably are. 'Almighty God' is *not* the 'source of all authority and power' in our government; the people of the United States *are* such source. . . . The Federal Constitution is based on the idea that religious faith is a purely personal matter, with which civil governments have properly nothing to do, and with which they cannot meddle without doing far more harm than good."*

But thoroughly evangelical and orthodox Christians have been carried away by the shallow sophistries of secularism. For example, Dr. S. T. Speer, in his book on *Religion and the State*, says: "So far as the national government is concerned, 'the people of the United States,' considered as a body politic, have no religion to teach, no doctrine of God to promulgate, and no form of worship to sustain or enforce. Their Constitution is purely secular in its objects, and its authority entirely human, with out any pretense of divine right."

Speaking of the Tripolitan Treaty, this writer says: "The language of this article in the treaty was used for a purpose, and that purpose was in exact correspondence with the fact contained in the Constitution itself. Christianity, though the prevalent religion of the people when the Constitution was adopted, is unknown to it. The Constitution says that it shall be unknown as having any place in the organic law of the United States or in the legislative powers of Congress."

The civil authority with us, he affirms, "proposes a *secular* education, and that only—an education that

*New York Daily Tribune, March 7, 1865.

would be needful and useful in this life, if there were no God and no future for the human soul."

One of the most injurious concessions to this spirit of secularism was that of the eminent Christian educator, Dr. Theodore D. Woolsey, ex-President of Yale College, at the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873. In a paper on the "Relations of Constitution and Government in the United States to Religion," he said: "The Constitution of the United States has properly nothing to do with religion. If the people were Mohammedans under the same Constitution, similar departures in minor points from the principle of absolutely ignoring a particular religious faith would be possible." "If the people should all turn Mohammedans or Mormons, what material change would be needed in the laws, except in those relating to the marriage union and to the division of estates? . . . The law has as little to do with Christianity, and Christianity with the law, as possible."

Many of the friends of our National Christianity have been greatly disappointed in the influence of the Evangelical Alliance on the momentous social problems of our land and day. Its platform and the volumes of its proceedings have been open to the repeated assaults of secularism on our Christian institutions, while the principles set forth in this Manual have been granted a most inadequate hearing. At the Conference in Boston, in the fall of 1889, Dr. Greer, of New York, said: "No system of education is complete unless it teach morality; if it teach morality, it must teach religion; if it teach religion, it must teach the Christian religion. But just here is the difficulty. The state in this country cannot give that religious nurture; it has no right to give it; it does not belong within its scope to give it. And although it is of the first importance that it should be

given, it is also of the first importance that the state should not give it." And but two men in the conference met this secularism with the true idea of the nature and functions of the state as a moral being, with moral aims and objects, and moral authority to define and punish crime, and to train its rising youth for the moral duties of American citizenship. Let Dr. Greer and other secularists of the Evangelical Alliance ponder these questions: Has the state the right to administer an oath? What is the oath, but an appeal to God? How shall multitudes of American youth know the nature and obligation of an oath, if the state does not teach them? What right has the state to administer an oath to witnesses or jurors or civil officers, or to punish the crime of perjury, if it has no right to teach the moral and religious ideas bound up in the divine ordinance of the oath? Before the Evangelical Alliance can be a great power for good in the moral conflicts that are now upon us in our social and political life, it must have an infusion of the sound Christian political science of such writers as are quoted in the fourth chapter of this manual. What seems almost inexplicable folly is the fact that an organization with the special object in view of counteracting the influence of Romanism should depreciate the strategic position from which alone that subtle and powerful foe can be vanquished in its attempt to destroy our common schools. Let our State schools be secularized, and they must give way to private schools, and then Rome with her parochial schools will triumph in her present struggle. The most hopeful sign for the future of the Alliance is the recent testimony of its Secretary, Dr. Strong, to the necessity of moral and religious education by the state."

It is most gratifying to be able to state that the two Americans who stood up in that Conference to vindicate

our country before assembled Christendom were the Hon. Felix R. Brunot and the Rev. T. P. Stevenson, the President and the Corresponding Secretary of the National Reform Association. Mr. Brunot said that he counted it the chief honor of his life to be the President of a society organized to maintain the many Christian features of our national life, and to correct the lamentable defect in the written Constitution which leads so many to misunderstand and misrepresent American institutions.

At an ecclesiastical extreme from Dr. Woolsey is Dr. W. R. Huntington, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, an opponent of Puritanism. This writer, unlike Bishop F. D. Huntington, with whom he must not be confounded, and whose *Divine Aspects of Human Society* he would do well to study, thinks that civil government is a "secular machine;" and that the true solution of "the American Problem" is for the state to secularize human life as thoroughly as possible so that the church may more earnestly labor to spiritualize and ennoble it. "Under such circumstances," he adds, "we need not feel obliged to call the state atheistic any more than we call a Jacquard loom atheistic. The state is simply non-Christian, that is all."

In the case of this author, as in that of Dr. Woolsey, the secularism of the written Constitution has so beclouded the mental vision as to shut out from view the historical and philosophical basis and elements of the nation's life. Dr. Huntington is right in saying: "Our government rests in theory . . . upon a purely secular basis. . . . Christ and his religion are alike unknown to that instrument which alone gives the government its authority—the Constitution of the United States." And when we reflect upon the mighty educating power of our written fundamental law, and its constant operation in

molding the national life into its own likeness, we cannot read his further words without alarm: "These vestiges of Christianity, as we may call them [our Christian institutions of government], are printed on the sand. The tide has only to crawl up a few inches farther to wash them clean away. There is nothing in the theory of the Republic that makes such usages an essential part of the national life. They rest for the most part upon the precarious tradition of colonial days; or if on statute law, what is statute law but the creature of temporary majorities? . . . They are not the natural fruit of our system; they are but reminders of an old order of things that has passed away—fossils imbedded in the rock on which the existing structure stands. One by one they will probably be chipped out and set aside as curiosities."

As late as the Meeting of the International Good-Will Congress that was held in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1926 one of the prominent speakers declared that the view of the state which regarded it as a moral personality accountable to God was responsible for many of the wars that have afflicted mankind. Though it is less the fashion to inveigh against the views political of Paul and the other Bible writers in religious assemblies, than it was twenty-five years ago, there are still numerous churchmen who cling tenaciously to the dying heresy that Christianity is a purely personal matter; that the church has no message or function toward the state, and that political sovereignty knows no God.

These citations, which might be indefinitely multiplied from Christian editors and ministers of the gospel of Christ, the anointed King, demonstrate our danger. Multitudes of Christian citizens are hostile to our Christian institutions of government. Many more, though not hostile, are ashamed or afraid to avow or manifest their friendship. Secularism, the creed of

modern rationalistic Judaism and infidelity generally, and atheism, disguised under the name of "liberalism," and powerfully supported, as Dr. Martensen says, "by the declension which has appeared in Christendom itself, and by all that folly and baseness so plentifully found among Christians," threatens to destroy our national inheritance.

How different a view of national life is this from that of such thinkers as Mulford and Bluntschli and Stahl! Dr. Woolsey's statements are but too true as to the written Constitution of the United States; but what student of history can be so blind as to think for a moment that in our unwritten and vital constitution, our body of laws and judicial decisions and authoritative customs and usages, we could be what we are from any other than a Christian origin or for any other than a Christian people? Our laws are adapted to protect Mohammedans and all other men in their rights, just because we are Christian and Protestant. It would be a world-wide change that would adapt our schools, and State Constitutions, and criminal law, and the whole texture of our life as determined by the one fact of the Christian Sabbath, to say nothing of the oath and other features of the common law, to a Mohammedan people. Christian patriots cannot act too promptly nor too earnestly. With this conviction, the National Reform Association calls upon all who would stem the tide of secularism and save our Christian civil inheritance, to active co-operation in its patriotic work.

CHAPTER VII

Objections To The Movement

Many of the objectors to the cause of National Reform frankly concede its principles. Others imply the same concession. The radical objectors deny the principles of Christian civil government. As the preceding chapters furnish the substance of a sufficient answer to nearly every objection that has ever been raised, only a few leading objections will be more fully answered here.

The Alarm Cry of "Church and State"

Perhaps the best way to meet this is to probe the objector to the quick at once. He is probably a secularist, and it is well to demonstrate this. We may ask him, then, if the use of the oath, the Bible in the schools, our Sabbath laws, our laws against profanity and blasphemy, constitute a union of church and state. This will bring the whole matter to a speedy test. If he is a secularist, the fact will appear, and we shall know then how to deal with our objector. If he admits the propriety of these practical acknowledgments of God and religious truth by the civil power, he cannot consistently oppose the National Reform cause. If he still insists that the inserting of religious or theological ideas into the Constitution is the union of church and state to which he specially objects, the question is then in order as to the acknowledgments of God in our State Constitutions. Are these proper or not? Do these connect our States or Commonwealths with the church? If not, how could they effect such a union if found in the fundamental law of the nation?

A Christian secularist is the one who is logically driven to the union of church and state. He is forced to join hands with the advocates of ecclesiastical establishments. He forbids the state itself having anything to do with religion. Yet he believes Christianity essential to human welfare. The state is incompetent to give her citizens what is essential to her own prosperity and perpetuity. She must, therefore, go to the Christian Church and have that organization do what the state herself cannot do, but must have done in her imperative need. This is union of church and state. It is the church doing the work that is essential in the sphere of the state itself.

Multitudes of those who raise the cry of "church and state" do not know what would constitute such a union. A good way to deal with them is to ask them what this union means. Let them explain themselves, and their blundering attempts at explanation will often need no further answer. Any intelligent objector who comprehends what it means will admit that to form such a union there must be the establishment of some ecclesiastical organization, as in England or Germany, where the Erastian principle subjects the church to the state; or on the other hand, the subjection of the civil power to the control of an ecclesiastical pontiff or council, as Romanism demands. Union of church and state is some mingling of civil and ecclesiastical offices and functions. The National Reform Association maintains the independence of each. The Bible is the supreme law of each in its own sphere. The church may not usurp civil functions; nor may the state usurp ecclesiastical functions. The state must confine itself to the sphere of maintaining rights and doing justice among men. But to do this it must be guided by the law of the righteous Ruler of nations; and for itself, and not

through any church, it must acknowledge its Divine Ruler, and the moral principles of His law, revealed both in nature and the Scriptures, that apply to its distinctive sphere and functions. This is its own religion. This is national Christianity. And this is the best possible safeguard against the intermingling of civil and ecclesiastical offices and functions, or the union of church and state.

Another practical and pointed way of answering this stale objection is by asking. What church? Is it the Methodist? or the Protestant Episcopal? or the Baptist? or the Presbyterian? or the Congregationalist? or the Unitarian? Some church as a visible organization must be in view, if there is to be an actual union with the state. It should be enough to silence any reasonable objector to remind him that members of all the above and many more churches co-operate most cordially in the National Reform work. They could not thus harmoniously labor if the union of the state with any church were sought. They do not wish it for their own church, nor apprehend it as to any other. They labor in this cause not so much as church members, as in the character of Christian citizens, striving to bring their beloved country to the high standard of the law of the King of kings in the sphere of its own national life. They do not desire to have any church principle or any ecclesiastical dogma embodied in the Constitution or wrought into the nation's life. But they do seek to have the politico-moral principles of Christianity made the basis of all our legislation and administration in the affairs of state and nation.

Rights of Conscience

Quite as loud or even louder than the alarm of "church and state" is the cry of "infringement of rights

of conscience." Here, again, it may be well to use the Socratic probe. What are meant by rights of conscience? and what is an infringement of them? Has any citizen a right of conscience to object to the thanksgiving proclamations by our President and State Governors? Has he a right of conscience to object to the employment at government expense of Christian ministers to pray in Congress or State Legislatures? A certain citizen doesn't believe in these things. Must they be abandoned as an infringement of his rights? The name of God in our State Constitutions offends him. Is this an infringement of his rights of conscience? Such questions will scratch and show the secularist Tartar, in which case we shall know again just where the controversy lies.

But if it is conceded that the above and other similar acknowledgments and acts of the civil power do not constitute infringements of rights of conscience, the ground is swept away from under the objector's feet. He admits in substance, with the authorities quoted in this Manual, that the state itself has rights no less than the individual. She has a right to her Sabbath laws and her laws against blasphemy. She has a right to Christian common schools. For her own welfare she must maintain such institutions, whatever objectors may say to the contrary. She has her own duty to God and His law, and no plea of right of conscience by infidel or atheist may turn her from her own right and duty.

But suppose this high-sounding claim of rights of conscience were granted—repeal our Sabbath laws; abolish the oath; banish the Bible from all our schools; hush the devout aspirations of prayer in Congress and State Legislatures; discontinue all national and state calls to thanksgiving and prayer—do all this, and more than this, in deference to this plea of rights of con-

science;—would the difficulty be ended? would the problem be solved? would no individual rights of conscience now be infringed upon? What about Christian citizens who believe that they have a right to a quiet Sabbath? What about citizens who believe with Washington that the oath is essential to our courts of justice; that rights of property and character and even life itself demand for their maintenance the solemn appeal of witness and juror and judge to God Himself, as answer shall be made to Him in the judgment of the great day? Are there no rights involved on this side of the question? Is there not an overwhelming majority of our citizens whose most sacred and precious rights would be wantonly and impiously trampled under foot by a government administered on the basis of the godless political creed of modern secularism?

And whither would this cry lead us? Roman Catholics claim that our common schools are an infringement of their rights of conscience. Must we therefore destroy the most magnificent system of public instruction on the face of the earth? The war power of the National Constitution is opposed to the conscientious convictions of thousands of our best citizens. Shall we disband our small army, scuttle our cruisers, and level our forts to the ground? Shall we reimburse to the tax-payers the vast sums expended by our war and navy departments? The consciences of multitudes are grievously oppressed by capital punishment. Shall we therefore forbid the execution of the murderer? In a word, shall we have the miscalled freedom of the French Revolution, which proves itself to be anarchy, or shall we have the administration of a true Christian government, a government based on the principles of the law of Christ, the Prince of Peace? Just as Christianity gives us the individual man who is most regardful of the rights of

others, so Christianity will give us the nation that will, in the maintenance of its own Christian character and institutions, best maintain the rights of all citizens and subjects. National Christianity is the only true balance of liberty and law.

"The State Has Nothing to Do with Religion"

This is secularism pure and simple. If by "religion" the objector means the church or church creeds, his objection is really that of "church and state." But the above is the sum and substance of the secular theory of the state. This maintains that the state cannot acknowledge or teach any religious idea because it has no religious idea to acknowledge or teach. The utter shallowness of this boasted liberal political philosophy is shown by the authorities cited in Chapter IV. But let us follow up the sophistries of secularism a little.

What *may* the state *do*? That is a practical question for the secularist to answer. The consistent secularist will say: "Nothing that involves a religious idea." And so he would, of course, put the Bible and all mention of God out of state schools, the oath out of courts of justice—in short, he would remorselessly carry out the "Demands of Liberalism." But what may the state still *do* even under these "Demands?" May it teach? Secularism says, Yes. But what may it teach? Secularism answers, History, astronomy, physiology, mental science, and all other secular knowledge.

But let us see what this involves. Take the history of our own country, for example. It asks and answers such questions as the following: Who were the Pilgrims? Who were the Puritans? Why were they so called? Why did they leave England and Holland? What did they do when they arrived in this country? What were the causes of the Revolutionary War? What was the

great cause of the war of the rebellion? Were these wars justifiable or not? Here are a few out of thousands of questions to which American history must furnish an answer, and tell our youth whether certain things were right or wrong. And these are questions of morals which the state must answer according to some moral standard if it undertakes to teach at all.

Once more, it is asked, "Is the state the institution of right? May it have courts of justice? May it define and punish crime? But this is all in the sphere of morals. Some secularists have been driven to the absurdity of denying this. They strive to make right and justice distinct from morals. For example, a celebrated French philosopher says: "I am profoundly convinced that the moral necessarily supposes the existence of a Sovereign whose sovereignty is not limited to this world. For me a moral without God is a law without sanction; that is to say, a law that is not a law." There can be no question of the soundness of this position. It is the desperation of secularism that drives it to the conclusion that right is distinct from duty, and the social order from the moral order. For the only alternative to this dark and cheerless conception of a state without God, is the duty of the state as a being in the moral world to acknowledge the Almighty Sovereign.

The very definition of the words "just," "unjust," "right," "wrong," with which the state has to do, if it is to have an existence at all, proves that it must have the deepest possible concern with morals. If it puts Webster's Dictionary of the English language into the common schools, it teaches morals and religion; for that author's definition of the adjective "right," in its moral sense, is, "conformed to the constitution of man and the will of God." The same authority defines the word "law," in the moral sense, as distinguished from a law

of nature, "the will of God, as the supreme moral ruler, concerning the character and conduct of all responsible beings; the rule of action as obligatory on the conscience or moral nature; the rules of external conduct which arise from the relations of men to each other in society, and the mutual rights which are founded on these relations." And now, in brief, turning from other kindred moral terms to the word "God," the name of Him whose will is "law," and to whose will everything must be conformed to be "right," we have this definition: "The Supreme Being, the Eternal and Infinite Spirit, the Creator, and the Sovereign of the universe, Jehovah." And to illustrate the proper use of the word, we have this verse from the Scriptures: "God is a spirit: and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth. (John 4:24.)"

Just at this point let us hear a typical Christian secularist: "No system of education is complete unless it teach morality; if it teach morality, it must teach religion; if it teach religion, it must teach the Christian religion." And what is the sage conclusion from all this? One would think that common sense, to say nothing of Christian principle and Christian loyalty, would, without any hesitation, reason and decide as follows: The state administers justice and right. It punishes all violations of justice and right. It must therefore teach its youth the justice and right which it requires, and the wrong which it condemns and punishes. Such teaching is the teaching of social morals. These moral duties are based on religion. The only true religion is Christianity. The state uses Webster's Dictionary, which is full of the moral and religious teachings of the Bible. It should therefore frankly and honestly acknowledge that religion from which it derives the very idea of its own nature and functions and duties, and to the moral standard of

which it requires its citizens to conform, while it should not fail to acknowledge the God whose will is the rule of right and ultimate law for all responsible beings.

But no! This would be for the state to have to do with religion. And so our secularist, follower of Christ, the King of kings, though He be, falls back on this conclusion: "The state in this country cannot give that religious nurture; it has no right to give it; it does not belong within its scope to give it; and although it is of the first importance that it should be given, it is also of the first importance that the state should not give it."

What is of the first importance for these Christian ministers is that they should study the true idea and functions of the state; that they should learn what it may do, ought to do, and must do, if it is to be a blessing to our race; and that they should not continue, like "blind leaders of the blind," to help drag our struggling nation, with all the burdens of its tremendous moral problems pressing upon it, down into the hopeless abyss of political atheism.

"The Folly of Trying to Make Men Religious by Law"

This is a sample of secular unfairness or confusion of thought. To hear this objection solemnly urged, one would think ours a Roman Catholic country, with its inquisition. Much of this outcry about compelling men to be religious is *ad captandum vulgum*. It is designed to catch the ignorant masses. When have men ever been so free, as under our Christian institutions, to profess any religion or no religion? Our national Christianity, because it is the religion of Protestant freedom, condemns all persecutions whatsoever. Religious liberty is the fruit of Christianity. But religious liberty does not mean licentiousness or immorality. This state has no right to compel any man to be religious or to be ir-

religious; but it has a right to say that his outward conduct as a citizen shall be moral and righteous according to the standard of the Christian religion. All good laws in our criminal code are designed to make men religious in this sense, and in no other sense. Laws against impurity, theft, murder, drunkenness, are all open to the same objection. They are designed, enacted, and enforced to make men moral or religious simply in the sense that their conduct in civil society shall be such as not to trespass on the rights and liberties of others, according to the authoritative moral standard of Christianity requires. Men may attend church or not; they may pray and read the Bible or not, just as they see fit. They choose for themselves. They may believe in God and in his Word, or they may be infidels, pagans or atheists. They may profess faith in the Saviour or not. These are their own affairs, and no association of men on the face of the earth would protest more promptly or more vigorously against any attempt to coerce them into the performance of any religious act of this kind than the National Reform Association. But the state itself is a moral and religious being. It has the right to take Christ as its acknowledged Lord. It, as a unit, must neither be coerced into a religious or an irreligious acknowledgment. It must choose for itself. Its duty, like that of the individual, is freely to acknowledge the supreme obligation of the Divine Law in its own sphere of moral conduct. And in doing this sincerely and consistently, it is making sure that it will have regard to the rights and liberties of all that are under its authority.

If it be urged that the proposed acknowledgment in the Constitution is the chief ground of this objection in the minds of many, the reply at once presents itself in another question: Do the acknowledgments of God now

found in thirty-seven of our State Constitutions compel any man to be religious by law? If not, how could a similar acknowledgment in our National Constitution have this effect? Such an acknowledgment would not be legislation. It would not lay down a rule for the subjects of statutory law at all. It would be the affirmation of a fundamental principle to guide the government. It would be a basis for such Christian laws as already exist. It would be a firm anchorage for the nation, now in danger of drifting, with the high tide of irreligion and infidelity, from the moorings of free Christian institutions. It would be authentication of those principles of national life which have given to the world the free institutions and the civil and religious liberty, for the enjoyment of which the oppressed of every land have flocked to our shores.

"God and Religion Need no such Empty Compliments."

In the first place, this flippancy betrays a gross misconception and entire want of appreciation of the issue at stake. Is the nation capable of knowing God and honoring him? Is its avowed adoption of his law for nations as its supreme rule a matter of empty compliment? What is so clearly and widely known as the nation's own sovereign utterance, as the Constitution? What can have so profound and extensive an educating power? What can tell so effectually on the whole life of the nation? Was it an empty compliment to God and religion when the Senate of the United States and the Chief Magistrate of the nation acknowledged God and Jesus Christ in the Resolution and Fast Proclamation of 1863? God and Christianity would have survived if our nation had followed many another rebellious one into the grave of ruin and oblivion. But that national acknowledgment was a potent means of our national sal-

vation. Let our beloved country fall into such straits once more, and the men who now flippantly talk about "empty compliments" will be hushed into reverence, while the nation, coming to its senses in the day of calamity, will call on its Lord and Saviour. If such acknowledgments are suitable in times of national affliction, why should they not with manly courage and candor, be spoken and recorded in the day of our prosperity and peace?

And then, in the next place, let it be remembered that the church of Christ and the cause of religion cannot be expected to accomplish their noblest results in an irreligious or secular state. The Divine Word teaches us that the glorification of Christ is an essential and necessary condition of the full outpouring of the Holy Ghost. (See John 7: 39.) He who is King, as well as Prophet and Priest, must have his rightful place accorded him as Governor among the nations before the Pentecostal baptism from on high shall bless our land. The glorifying of the Prince of the kings of the earth, by the acknowledgment of his authority over us as a nation, whether in our fundamental law or in any act based upon it, so far from being an empty formality, will be the sure source of richest national blessing. "Them that honor me," says this Lord over all—and his promise includes nations as well as individuals and church—"I will honor." (1 Samuel 2 : 30.)

One other aspect of this objection requires notice. The friends of National Reform are misrepresented, as seeking an empty paper acknowledgment, or an acknowledgment in parchment for its own sake. The view given in this volume of the relation of a written constitution to the unwritten or vital constitution of a nation is a complete answer to this form of this objection. Organic fundamental law is the voice of the nation, and

the nation itself, by an overwhelming majority of its citizens, must speak in it. The States have spoken in their Constitutions, and their religious acknowledgments have been something more than paper acknowledgments. They have been a powerful means to the end of preventing the States from being secular in their government. So would the acknowledgment in the National Constitution, had it been made at first, have had its powerful practical influence in preventing such a dishonor as the secular statement of the Tripolitan Treaty, or the secular reports in Congress on the transportation and delivery of the mail on the Lord's Day. Much more will the acknowledgment, when at length made as it only can be made, by the people themselves, and now only after full discussion of the whole subject throughout the land, be a means of indisputable efficacy in the great work of maintaining our Christian institutions of government. As we have registered and authenticated our republicanism and our achieved liberty for all men in our nation's fundamental law, so shall we one day register and authenticate the assailed or half-buried but revived institutions of our Christian nationality.

"The National Reform Movement is Unwise and Unnecessary"

This objection is heard in various forms. "God is already acknowledged;" "the Constitution is already Christian;" "you are playing into the hands of infidelity;"—these are some of the changes rung on this objection. Not infrequently the same objector who cries "church and state," and "infringement of rights of conscience," faces about and takes up this entirely different ground. Years ago a sermon was preached against the movement, which may serve to illustrate this inconsistency. First, the movement was denounced as wrong,

unjust, oppressive. Next, it was declared to be unnecessary, inasmuch as what it asked had already been done. And what had been done was cordially approved. To crown all, the third point was that this unjust and yet commendable thing which ought not to be done and which nevertheless had already been wisely and fittingly done, could not possibly be done at all. The discourse was a veritable battle of Kilkenny cats. In this internecine struggle of the learned and eloquent preacher's objections not even the tip of the tail of one of them survived.

This Manual affords ample proof that God is and has been acknowledged in our national life; and that the unwritten and real constitution of the nation is Christian. Such facts in our history are far from being ignored by this Association. It does not play into the hands of infidels, as secularist Christians do, by making light of such facts. It does not say of them, as the secularist clergyman, referred to in a former chapter, said of them, "these vestiges of Christianity are printed on the sand." It holds them in the highest esteem, and regards them as the salt that saves our political and national life from utter corruption. But the written Constitution does not acknowledge God and is not Christian. This is the simple statement of fact. The Declaration of Independence and the old Articles of Confederation do acknowledge God. But they are not the nation's fundamental law. They are no part of the written Constitution. They are a part of the vital or historical and providential constitution of the nation, and it was a violation of the very principles of constitutional law to omit from the new written Constitution all expression and authentication of so fundamental a fact in our nation's life as the two older documents, and, indeed, all similar documents before in our colonial history had acknowl-

edged. But the defect is there. And it is to remedy this defect, and thus give to our existing Christian institutions which ministerial secularists are ready to chip out like fossils and set aside as curiosities, an authoritative authentication that will imbed them firm and fast in the rock of our fundamental law.

Before closing this chapter a brief space may be given to a few objections that have troubled thoughtful minds not at all unfriendly to the National Reform Movement. It is sometimes asked—

“Doesn't Religion Belong Exclusively to the States?”

When the National Constitution was framed a number of the States did have an ecclesiastical establishment, or union of church and state. It was the intention of the first amendment to the Constitution to forbid Congress doing what it was conceded the States might do in reference to this “establishment of religion.” Senator Blair's school amendment once before the United States Senate, proposed to prohibit the States from doing what Congress is forbidden to do by this first amendment. But if Senator Blair's amendment were adopted no one would dream that it would prohibit such religious acknowledgments as are now found in the Constitutions and laws of our States. It would simply prohibit ecclesiastical establishments. The second section of the amendment provides for the instruction of the children in our common schools in the principles of the Christian religion, and this in perfect harmony with the prohibition of the first section. In like manner, the prohibition of the first amendment leaves Congress at liberty to perform such Christian acts as those referred to in the Third Chapter of this Manual.

Still further, if the States need the moral principles of the Christian religion in their narrower spheres of

political action, how much more does the national government need them in its higher, wider, and more responsible sphere? It alone possesses the power of declaring and carrying on war. It alone may treat with other nations—other moral persons of international law. Its example must tell most powerfully for good or evil upon all the commonwealths of which it is composed. If it needs no Divine Lord and Saviour, no Almighty God of battles to shield it in the day of war, no God of infinite wisdom to guide it in the days of peace, how can the States be expected to feel their need of such guidance and protection?

Will not This Make the State an Interpreter of the Law of Christ?

Various aspects of this inquiry are presented. It is asked, in substance, Is it the proper function of the state to interpret the law of Christianity? Would it be right for any nation to enforce its interpretation of the law of Christ against the convictions of a large number of even Christian citizens? Is not the proper work of Christianity to labor for the coming of the time when it will not be necessary to have human laws in order to enforce the law of Christ?

The answer to these questions may be summed up in the following points:

1. A nation must decide moral questions that belong to its own proper sphere of action, as they come up for practical settlement. It must decide, for example, whether its legislature shall be at liberty to meet on the Sabbath or not. It must decide whether or not it will require postmasters to attend to the duties of their office on the Lord's Day. And so on in numberless practical questions.

2. It may and should take the law of Christ as its surest and safest guide in all such cases. And here it must interpret this law for itself. It has just as good a right to take the law of Christ as the code of Justinian. It is bound to take the best moral code it can find, and that is the code of Christianity. And while it should gladly avail itself of the light which the Church of Christ can give by her teachings, it must decide for itself what its own duty is in the sphere that belongs to it, by its own responsible interpretation of the Christian law of its life and functions.

3. Perfect unanimity is not necessary, nor may it ever be expected in any social organism or collective being in this world. The church interprets and enforces by spiritual penalties the law of Christ in her sphere against the convictions of many of her members. The state simply does the same thing under civil penalties.

4. So long as the state exists, so long will moral questions rise. When the present moral questions of our political life are settled, as the question of slavery has been settled, others will demand attention. And there will always be need of human laws. Civil government is a necessity of human nature. If man had never fallen, the state would have been needful for the development and highest possible attainments of our race. In the golden age of the Millennium, civil government, with its interpretation and enforcement of law, will still be necessary to human welfare. It is the acceptance and enforcement of the law of Christ by the nations of the earth that will introduce and establish the Millennium. Parties, majorities and minorities there will be, until men see as they are seen and know as they are known, in the heavenly world. And the only law of society that will secure the rights of minorities and prevent the triumphant majorities from oppressing their

vanquished opponents, is the perfect law of the Prince of peace. This law, given in nature and in the politico-moral principles of Christianity for the conduct of a nation's affairs and for the maintenance of the rights of all men, the civil authority should acknowledge, interpret, and enforce.

Will not This Movement Damage the Cause of Religion?

It cannot be too strongly urged that the welfare of the state is the main question here at issue. What will damage the nation? What is essential to its welfare and perpetuity? Can it prosper or survive without those moral and religious principles on which the National Reform Movement is based? What is the preservative principle of civil society? Corrupt politicians would gladly shut out religious principle from the state on the plea that religion will be corrupted by politics. But what will then become of politics? Without the salt of religion, politics will become a stench, and the state itself will rot and perish. Even the heathen saw this truth and were guided by it. To save the state we must found it upon religious, not church, principles.

And let it never be feared that religion will suffer in doing her beneficent work for humanity. She will prosper just in proportion to her fidelity in fulfilling her appointed mission on the earth. Christian ministers who say they have no time to come down from their exalted service of the cause of religion into the sphere of such work as that of the National Reform Association should remember that corrupt civil society causes the loss of multitudes of immortal souls. A godless state will be a curse to every interest of religion. Secularize civil society and you help to secularize all the rest of human life. On the other hand, let the fear of God and obedience to his law for conscience' sake reign in the life

of the nation, and you create a pure and religious social atmosphere in which the church can do her noblest and most effective work. Let Christ be glorified as our acknowledged Ruler in the nation, and his Holy Spirit will be poured out in the fullness of his saving power upon our land. (See John 7 : 39.)

Why not Adopt More Popular Methods than Those of the National Reform Movement?

It is affirmed, and with a great deal of truth, that the very name of National Reform is unpopular with multitudes. Good friends of our Christian institutions of government will not co-operate with the National Reform Association. Why not drop, then, everything that is objectionable, and seek to combine all the friends of National Christianity in a more popular organization? To this inquiry the following points of answer may be made:

1. Various associations are already in existence, each with its peculiar aim in view. The door is thus wide open for every citizen who objects to the National Reform platform to identify himself with other organizations seeking the ends which he approves. But the friends of the National Reform Movement believe that its success is vital to the success of all other kindred causes; that this reform includes and lies at the foundation of all other moral reforms. The cause of the Sabbath is only one application of the moral laws of the Christian religion to the nation's life. The temperance cause is another. And so with every other reform. The National Reform Movement comprehends all these interests, and proposes the radical measure of the national acknowledgment, in our fundamental law, of the moral laws of Christ as the supreme standard of governmental action on all moral questions.

2. The appeal to the great principles of the National Reform Movement is virtually made in all worthy efforts at Sabbath or other moral reform. Unwillingness to make this appeal with frankness can only detract from the efficiency of true reformation work. The Sabbath reform, which takes pains to ignore the moral basis of Sabbath laws, and fails through fear of popular disfavor to appeal to the authority of the Divine Law, can never reach the conscience of the nation. In like manner, the advocates of temperance reform who are ashamed to avow their allegiance to Christ and his laws, reject the most efficient means of promoting their work. The National Reform Movement puts these moral principles to the front and proposes to keep them there. It has the courage to avow its principles simply because it believes in them as the truth of God himself. It cannot by silence or in any other way prove untrue to them.

3. The friends of National Reform are more deeply concerned to know what will honor the Master and secure his blessing than what will please the multitude. They know that the reforms which are so earnestly sought cannot be accomplished until the people become enlightened enough to favor them. But the way to the enlightenment of the people is not by the hiding of the truth. The Lord will not bless the efforts that dishonor his truth and thus dishonor him. National Reform principles must, therefore, be uncompromisingly maintained until they become popular. The wonderful progress of these principles for the last twenty-five years gives full assurance that they will yet find intelligent and hearty acceptance by the nation, and only in such acceptance can the cause triumph.

CHAPTER VIII

Results and Prospects

The account, given in the second chapter, of "Methods of Work" affords abundant evidence of large and gratifying results. In addition, however, to the results there mentioned, such as the creation of an extensive literature on Christianity and the State, the uniting in a national organization of the friends of this cause, and the arresting of public attention to the grave social problems involved in the movement, there have been other encouraging results of the work.

Not a few indirect results of importance might be noted. In connection with other causes, this work has helped to raise the standard of qualifications for public servants. Its teachings as to the Bible law for the high moral character of civil rulers have not been in vain. The interests of a true civil service reform have been promoted by the increasing number of moral and religious men elevated to positions of influence in the nation. And while political corruption still shows itself, in many instances, in the choice of high officers of government, the steps of progress are clearly marked by the growing demand for moral and religious men.

An impulse has been given to the study of political science. Special attention has been called to the subject of constitutional law; its nature as distinguished from statutory legislation; the relation of the written to the unwritten constitution; the responsibility of the nation for the action of its agent, the government; and the duty of the nation to lay down in constitutional law such regulations as will permanently settle great moral

questions like the liquor traffic. Constitutional prohibition is the offspring of the teachings on which the National Reform Association has laid peculiar emphasis.

The influence of this work has been felt by multitudes who have not been ready to accept all its principles. Planting its standard on advanced ground, which many friends of Christian government have not been prepared to occupy, the National Reform Association has exerted a powerful influence in stirring up these friends to redoubled exertions within the limits of their own accepted field. The revival of the cause of the Sabbath, for example, and the marked success which has attended the labors of the American Sabbath Union, were in no small measure due to the work of National Reform.

All the various organizations for reform work are influenced, unconsciously it may be, and yet none the less really and powerfully, by the National Reform Movement. The secular theory of our written Constitution has so tainted our whole political atmosphere that hardly a Convention is held, like those of the Evangelical Alliance, without the manifest working of this evil influence. Speaker after speaker will show himself ready to give the cause of Christian government clean away. The friends of our American National Christianity in these organizations need moral support. Some of them need to be keyed up to a higher and clearer utterance of Christian truth. Such support and such stimulus the National Reform Movement affords.

This prevailing spirit of reform, which in so marked a degree characterizes the closing years of the nineteenth century, embodied itself in an extraordinary organization, called the "Associated Press of Reforms." One of the lines of work of this Association was the circulation of a sheet with ninety questions on it, with the re-

quest that all to whom the list may come will indicate their answer to each question, "Yes," "No," or "Doubtful," and return the sheet to the office of the organization. The aim in this was to learn the drift of public opinion on the proposed reforms, and to help guide it. The prominent place of National Reform ideas in this list of questions may be seen from the following selections:

"A uniform marriage and divorce law to prevent both contemporaneous and 'consecutive polygamy?'"

"A provision in marriage laws, whether Federal or State, that divorces with permission to marry again can be granted only for the one cause of adultery, and only to the innocent party?"

"The enactment and enforcement of such laws as will prevent theatrical managers, tobacconists, and others from displaying pictures whose tendency is to arouse lust in our youth?"

"Having the churches, as such, both separately and in unison, take a more active part in reforms than is usual, by protesting against bad laws whenever proposed, and promoting the enactment and enforcement of good ones?"

"Sabbath rest for postmen, railroad men, telegraphers, barbers, news-dealers, tobacconists, confectioners and provision-dealers, as well as other toilers?"

"A Sabbath law for the capital of our country that shall give its residents as complete protection against needless work and noise and dissipation on that day as is enjoyed by the most favored of the States?"

"Adopting the phraseology in which the Declaration of Independence acknowledges the God of nations as a preamble to the National Constitution to put the Christian elements of government, chaplaincies, thanksgiving

days and the like, upon a more unquestionably constitutional basis?"

Another line of work of this "Associated Press of Reforms" was almost identical with that of the special department of the National Reform Association presided over by Dr. I. P. McCurdy, of Philadelphia, Secretary of the "Department of the Press." This was the prompt preparation of items and summaries of news on important moral questions, and the supply of them to newspapers, particularly in the State or more limited locality where the issue was raised, in the hope that journals all over the country, favorable to social morals, would become subscribers to this new "Associated Press."

This method has become one of the popular methods of reform propaganda today. The Methodist Episcopal Board of Moral Welfare in its Clip Sheet on the Prohibition Enforcement matter is an outstanding example of the carrying on, of what was a pioneer effort of the National Reform Association.

The central idea of National Reform, the ultimate authority of the law of Christ, and the necessity of its application in all social and civil reforms, was accepted by this organization. Its official statement read "There are differences of opinion among the members on lesser matters, but they are all agreed upon the principle so admirably stated by Hon. Carroll D. Wright, of the National Bureau of Labor, in the following passage, which should be the watchword of all social reforms: 'I believe that in the adoption of the philosophy of the religion of Jesus Christ, as a practical creed for the conduct of business, lies the surest and speediest solution of those industrial difficulties which are exciting the minds of men to-day, and leading many to think that the crisis of government is at hand.' With this should be asso-

ciated the recent utterance of Gladstone: 'Talk about questions of the day: there is but one such question, and that is the Gospel. It can and will correct everything that needs correction. All men at the heads of great movements are Christian men. During the many years I was in the Cabinet I was brought into association with sixty master minds, and all but five of them were Christians. My only hope for the world is in bringing the human mind into contact with divine revelation.' These sayings recall the fact that when men came to Jesus with hard questions about divorce government and law, he uncovered the fundamental question, whose answer is the solution of all others, 'What think ye of Christ?'"

Among the results to which the National Reform work may claim to have made some contribution, is the spread of interest, during the week of prayer, on the subject of national religion. Prayer for nations has now a recognized place in the devotions of that week. No friend of Christian civil government can attend one of the prayer-meetings, in any part of our country, on the evening set apart for prayer for nations, and note the wonderful change of the last fifteen or twenty years, without a deep sense of gratitude. The nation is learning the lesson of its need of the help of Him who is the Hearer of prayer.

Closely related to this is the widespread study of the International Series of Sabbath School Lessons, in which so many of the principles of national religion find illustration and enforcement. It is true, that our lesson helps, may also without exception lamentably fail to bring out and carry home, as they should, the great principles which the Holy Spirit has embodied in these records of the Divine government of the nations of old. And yet that commentator or that teacher must be a "blind leader of the blind," who can altogether fail to

perceive and teach, or whose readers or class permit the lesson to pass, without inquiring into such questions as national sin; Divine warnings sent to nations because of their transgressions; punishment inflicted upon disobedient and impenitent nations; national sin the cause and source of national calamities, famine, the overthrow of a nation by the desolations of war, and captivity under a victorious enemy, as modes of Divine punishment of sinful nations; the Book of the Law or God's Word, the authoritative and supreme rule for nations; the duty of national repentance and reformation. A cheering view of the work already accomplished in this way is the hope that may reasonably be entertained as to the ampler treatment of momentous subjects such as these in the Sabbath School.

Were there nothing else to reward the friends of the National Reform Movement for their efforts, they would find no scanty compensation in the measures before Congress. Chief among these is the Lankford Bill, designed to give the District of Columbia a reasonable Sabbath Day Rest Law. In some form, this measure has been before Congress intermittently, for thirty years, without being brought to its final passage. Atheists, moving picture interests, Seventh Day Adventists and commercial sports, have so far succeeded in blocking action, but not in finally defeating the effort. The Twentieth Amendment is designed to place the regulation of child labor sufficiently under the control of Congress to produce practical uniformity; at present this is a dormant issue, as more than thirteen of the states have rejected it, but the trend is toward an increase of child labor and while Congress has done its part the education of the people remains to be accomplished.

As we survey the last quarter of a century the

cause of National Christianity has scored its triumphs, as well as suffered its defeats.

The most popular president of this period, ordered "In God we trust," removed from our coins. Popular sentiment at once forced its replacement by act of Congress. The Courts have steadily upheld the principle, that this is a Christian Nation and that it is perfectly right and proper to make the ethics of Christianity the standards of legislation in moral concerns. This has led them to support laws that require the reading of the Bible in the public schools, and eleven of the States have such laws. It has led them universally to uphold Sabbath laws and the Eighteenth Amendment and all prohibition laws. These are the victories of our Gospel of the Kingdom. On the other hand, it has suffered its defeats. When President Wilson was exercising his leadership in the Versailles conference, one cannot but feel that if he had viewed the task before him as Franklin did the matter of prayer in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, there might have been a different story to tell of the last seven years of our national life. Woodrow Wilson was not antagonistic to the principles of Christian Sovereignty and political science, but he had not so envisaged them that his vision compelled him to be loyal to them. Hence the secularism as embodied in Clemenceau, dominated that convention and its work.

It is the atheistic, secular, conception of political Sovereignty in our political leaders, that has finally defeated the endeavor to enter the World Court, and placed us in virtual antagonism to the effort of the world, in its attempt to replace the reign of force with a reign of law and the machinery to develop and administer international law. That this defeat is final, no one who knows the strength of American Christianity believes. But it will require a vigorous presentation of

the superior authority of Jesus Christ, to induce the wrong headed political leaders of America, to submit to righteous law and authority in international affairs.

During its lifetime, the National Reform Association has witnessed the progress of two contrary movements of thought within the ranks of Protestant Christianity. The first is a wide diffusion of the concept of Christ's Kingdom as a growing concern in society as organized today; a conception that sees it growing as the mustard seed and spreading as the leaven. Under this conception Christians have been seeking "to shape new channels for the flood of truth;" to establish new contacts by which Jesus Christ can exercise his power and authority over the nations of the earth. Slowly this force is Christianizing society. It has, however, been hindered by a rather rapid spread of that type of Christian thinking, which regards present society as hopelessly bad; so much so that the only possible erection of the Kingdom of Christ is by his visible, bodily return to the earth. It is needless to add that this interpretation of the coming of the Kingdom of Christ drains away the interest of those holding it, from the program of the National Reform Association. Much of this dynamic interest has also been drawn away by the application of Christian principles to economic and social affairs through the mass agreement of Christian individuals, rather than through government that recognizes its obligation to establish Christian conditions. The apparent results may be the same in shaping Christian conditions, but it is doubtful if the conservative power of the two methods is at all equal. What is merely custom because of common consent, is capable of being entirely dissipated, by a change in the wind of popular sentiment. What is accomplished by constitution and law, is apt to become permanent. The one thing more than all else which is

today standing in the way of Christianizing our civil Government is the individualistic cast of Christian thinking within the Protestant churches. It is not the purpose of the National Reform Association to denounce that individualism, but to add to it a kingdom type of thought which envisages the penetration of the civil order by a reverence for and a confession of, allegiance to Christ and a determination to do his will in government.

The most significant result of the discussions of our National Christianity during the last quarter of a century, is the bringing of the nation close to the point where it must decide whether it will be for Christ or against him. The times of ignorance, during which a doubtful course is possible, are well nigh gone. God's providence as well as his Word is saying to our country, "Choose ye this day whom ye will serve." The claims of Jesus Christ as King are being so pointedly pressed upon our republic that it will have to decide, like the Jews of old, whether it will crown him, or crucify him afresh and put him to an open shame. And this crisis, so near at hand, should press home upon every Christian his duty, in loyalty to his Saviour, to make his influence felt in the decision of this question on which depends the welfare, yes, the very life of our nation.

While this book has brought forward ample testimony that our government was founded upon Christian principles in our early legislation, and in our unwritten and providential constitution as a nation, it has also borne faithful witness to the fact that our written Constitution, though not by the intelligent and deliberate choice of the nation, is on the side of secularism; and that its mighty moulding and educating power is against our Christian institutions of government. We have with-

in our political being, as in the Shulamite of Solomon's Song, "as it were the company of two armies." It may be both affirmed and denied, according to the point of view taken, that we are a Christian nation. But this state of things cannot continue. As our nation was compelled to choose intelligently and deliberately between slavery and freedom, and to register its choice in the fundamental law, so it will be compelled to choose, with full knowledge of what is involved in the choice, between secularism and Christianity, and register its choice in the same way.

A passage in Dr. H. Martensen's *Christian Ethics* is so pertinent here that with a slight modification it may well be adapted to our impending crisis: "If it is asked what are the future prospects of our American National Christianity, a twofold possibility, as so often happens in history, presents itself in this case also. Either a revolution in thought and feeling, produced by a nearer and clearer view of the abyss of secularism which has been arrived at, will take place in the Christian people, among whom a large amount of vigorous conservation still exists and operates; and then, as a result of this resolution, a revival, a renewal of Christian political institutions, whereby the destructive forces will be so arrested, restricted, and confined within due bounds that a just limitation will be set to individualism by the whole, and by a regard to the welfare of the whole; or on the other hand, the dissolution now in process will hold on its course, government will be more and more involved therein, Christianity will increasingly retire from public life, and the nation will be to a greater and greater extent unchristianized. . . . Then, sooner or later, a socialist revolution will break out, . . . and, after the waters of the deluge have abated, new social formation will appear."

Which of these two possibilities shall be realized in our land? This is the question for American Christians to decide. Christian patriots of America, may your love of country and your love of Christ move you to prompt and energetic action! Will you permit our inheritance of national Christianity to be more and more retired from public life? Will you permit the text-book of Christian morals to be banished like a culprit from our public schools? Shall city after city follow the example of Cincinnati, San Francisco, St. Louis and Chicago in expelling the only perfect standard of morals from the system of education by which our youth are to be trained for the duties of American citizenship? Shall other States follow the example of California, and declare all laws against the public desecration of the Sabbath unconstitutional? Shall this unchristianizing of our nation go on, until the deluge of secularism or political atheism sweeps away every vestige of the inheritance that has come down to us from the fathers who founded our civil institutions in the fear of God, and the love of Christ, and respect for his Holy Word? It is for you to answer. What shall the answer be? You are earnestly invited to co-operate with the National Reform Movement. Here you can work effectively with your Christian patriotic fellow citizens. But whether here, or elsewhere, may you work zealously and prayerfully for Christ and country.

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to
decide,
In the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or
evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah, offering each the
bloom or blight,
Parts the goats upon the left hand, and the sheep upon
the right,
And the choice goes by forever 'twixt that darkness and
that light.

'Tis as easy to be heroes as to sit the idle slaves
Of a legendary virtue carved upon our father's graves,
Worshipers of light ancestral make the present light a
crime;—
Was the Mayflower launched by cowards, steered by men
behind their time?
Turn those tracks toward Past or Future that make
Plymouth Rock sublime?

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient
good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward, who would keep
abreast of Truth;
Lo, before us gleam her camp-fires, we ourselves must
Pilgrims be,
Launch our Mayflower, and steer boldly through the
desperate winter sea,
Nor attempt the Future's portal with the Past's blood
rusted key.

LOWELL—"The Present Crisis."

PART TWO

CHAPTER I

Historical Documents

The following documents, from some of which extracts are given in Chapter III, are here copied in full from authoritative sources, because of their important bearing on our national Christianity.

I. Compact Made on Board The Mayflower November 11, 1620

In the name of God, amen. We, whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid: And by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; into which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our

names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno. Dom. 1620.

John Carver,
William Bradford,
Edward Winslow,
William Brewster,
Isaac Allerton,
Miles Standish,
John Alden,
Samuel Fuller,
Christopher Martin,
William Mullins,
William White,
Richard Warren,
John Craxton,
John Billington,
Josés Fletcher,
John Goodman,
Digery Priest,
Thomas Williams,
Gilbert Winslow,
Edmund Margeson,
Peter Brown,

John Howland,
Stephen Hopkins,
Edward Tilly,
John Tilly,
Frances Cooke,
Thomas Rogers,
Thomas Tinker,
John Ridgdale,
Edward Fuller,
John Turner,
Francis Eaton,
James Chilton,
Richard Bilteridge,
George Soule,
Richard Clark,
Richard Gardiner,
John Allerton,
Thomas English,
Edward Doten,
Edward Leister.

II. Plymouth Colony Law for Education of Children

Forasmuch as the good Education of Children and Youth, is of singular use and benefit to any Commonwealth; and whereas many Parents and Masters either through an over respect to their own occasions and business, or not duly considering the good of their Children and Servants, have too much neglected their duty in their Education, whilst they are young and capable of Learning;

It is Ordered, That the Deputies and Select men of every Town, shall have a vigilant eye from time to time over their Brethren and Neighbors, to see that all Parents and Masters do duly Endeavour, by themselves or others, to teach their children and servants as they grow capable, so much learning as through the blessing of God they may attain, at least to be able duly to read the Scriptures, and other good profitable Books printed in the English Tongue (being their Native Language) and the knowledge of the Capital Laws, and in some competent measure to understand the main Grounds and Principles of Christian Religion, necessary to Salvation, by causing them to learn some short Orthodox Catechism without Book, or otherwise instructing them as they may be able to give a due answer to such plain and ordinary Questions, as may by them or others be propounded to them concerning the same: And further that all Parents and Masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labour or employment, that may be profitable for themselves, or the Country; and if after warning and admonition given by any of the Deputies, or Selectmen, unto such Parents or Masters, they shall still remain negligent in their duty, in any of the particulars aforementioned, whereby

Children or Servants may be in danger to grow Barbarous, Rude or Stubborn, and so prove Pests instead of Blessings to the Country; That then a fine of ten shillings shall be levied on the Goods of such negligent Parent or Master, to the Town's use, except extreme poverty call for mitigation of the said fine.

And if in three months after that, there be no due care taken and continued, for the Education of such children and apprentices as aforesaid, then a fine of twenty shillings to be levied on such Delinquent's Goods, to the Town's use, except as aforesaid.

And Lastly, if in three months after that, there be no due Reformation of the said neglect, then the said Selectmen with the help of two Magistrates, shall take such children and servants from them, and place them with some Masters for years (boys till they come to twenty-one, and girls eighteen years of age), which will more strictly educate and govern them according to the rules of this Order.

III. Articles of Confederation

Between the Plantations Vnder the Gouvernement of the Massachusetts the Plantacons Vnder the Gouvernement of New-Plymouth the Plantacons Vnder the Gouvernement of Connecticut and the Gouvernement of New-Haven with the Plantacans in combinacon therewith.

Whereas wee all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and ayme namely to advance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospeil in puritie with peace. And whereas in our settleinge (by a wise Providence of God) we are further dispersed vpon the Sea Coasts and Riuers then was at first intended, so that we cannot according to our desire with convenience communicate in one Gouvernement and Jurisdiccon: And whereas we live encompassed with people of seuerall nations and strang languages which hereafter may proue injurious to vs, or our posteritie. And forasmuch as the Natiues have formerly committed sondry insolences and outrages vpon seuerall Plantacons of the English and have of late combined themselves against vs. And seing by reason of those sad Distraccons in England which they have heard of, and by which they know we are hindred from that humble way of seekinge advise, or reapeing those comfortable fruits of protection which at other tymes we might well expecte. Wee therefore doe conceiue it our bounden dutye without delay to enter into a present Consotiation amongst our selues for mutuall help and strength in all our future concernements: That as in Nation and Religion so in other Respects we bee and continue one according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing Articles: Wherefore it is fully agreed

and concluded by and betweene the parties or Jurisdictions aboue named and they joyntly and seuerally doe by these presents agree and conclude that they all bee and henceforth bee called by the Name of *The United Colonies of New-England*.

II. The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do joyntly and seuerally hereby enter into a firme and perpetuall league of Friendship and amytie for offence and defence mutuall advise and succour vpon all just occasions both for preserueing and propagateing the truth and liberties of the Gospell and for their owne mutuall safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed That the Plantacons which at present are or hereafter shalbe settled within the limmetts of the Massachusetts shalbe forever vnder the Massachusetts and shall have peculiar Jurisdiccon among themselves in all cases as an entire Body and that Plymouth Connecktacutt and New Haven shall eich of them haue like peculier Jurisdiccon and Gouvernment within their limmetts and in reference to the Plantacons which already are settled or shall hereafter be erected or shall settle within their limmetts respectiuey Prouided that no other Jurisdiccon shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this Confederacon nor shall any other Plantacon or Jurisdiccon in present being and not already in Combynacon or vnder the Jurisdiccon of any of these Confederats be received by any of them nor shall any two of the Confederates joyne in one Jurisdiccon without consent of the rest which consent to be interpreted as is expressed in the sixt Article ensuinge.

4. It is by these Confederats agreed that the charge of all just warrs whether offensiue or defensiue upon what part or member of this Confederacon soeuer they fall, shall both in men and provisions and all other

Disbursements be borne by all the parts of this Confederacon in different proporcons according to their different abilitie in manner following, namely that the Commissioners for eich Jurisdicon from tyme to tyme as there shall be occasion bring a true account and number of all the males in euery Plantacon or any way belonging to or under their seuerall Jurisdicons of what quallty or condicon soeuer they bee from sixteene yeeres old to threescore being Inhabitants there. And that according to the different numbers which from tyme to tyme shalbe found in eich Jurisdicon upon a true and just account, the service of men and all charges of the warr be borne by the Poll: eich Jurisdicon or Plantacon being left to their owne just course and custome of rating themselues and people according to their different estates with due respects to their quallites and exemptions among themselues though the Confederacon take no notice of any such priviledg: and that according to their different charge of eich Jurisdicon and plantacon, the whole advantage of the warr (if it please God to bless their Endeavours) whether it be in lands goods or persons shall be proportionably deuided among the said Confederats.

5. It is further agreed That if any of these Jurisdicons or any plantacon vnder or in combynacon with them be envaded by any enemy whomsoever vpon notice and request of any three majestrats of that Jurisdicon so invaded the rest of the Confederates without any further meeting or expostulacon shall forthwith send ayde to the Confederate in danger but in different proporcons; namely the Massachusetts an hundred men sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and eich of the rest fourty five men so armed and provided, or any lesse number, if lesse be required, according to this proporcon. But if such Confederate

in danger may be supplied by their next Confederate, not exceeding the number hereby agreed, they may craue help there, and seek no further for the present; the charge to be borne as in this Article is exprest: And at the returne to be victualled and supplied with poder and shott for their journey (if there bee neede) by that Jurisdiccon which employed or sent for them: But none of the Jurisdiccons to exceed these numbers till by a meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederacon a greater ayd appeare necessary. And this proporcon to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in eich Jurisdiccon which shalbe brought to the next meeting some other proporcon be ordered. But in any such case of sending men for present ayd whether before or after such order or alteracon, it is agreed that at the meeting of the Commissioners for this Confederacon, the cause of such warr or invasion be duly considered: And if it appeare that the fault lay in the parties so invaded that then that Jurisdiccon or plantacon make just Satisfaccon, both to the Invaders whom they have injured, and beare all the charges of the warr themselves without requireing any allowance from the rest of the Confederats towards the same. And further that if any Jurisdiccon see any danger of any Invasion approaching, and there be tyme for a meeting that in such case three majestrats of that Jurisdiccon may summon a meeting at such convenyent place as themselues shall think meete, to consider and provide against the threatned danger Provided when they are met they may remove to what place they please. Onely whilst any of these foure Confederats have but three Majestrats in their Jurisdiccon, their request or summons from any two of them shalbe accounted of equall force with the three menconed in both the clauses of this Article till there be an encrease of Majestrats there.

6. It is also agreed that for the managing and concluding of all affaires proper and concerning the whole Confederacon two Commissioners shalbe chosen by and out of eich of these foure Jurisdiccons namely two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Conectacutt and two for New Haven being all in Church fellowship with us which shall bring full power from their seuerall generall Courts respectively to heare examine weight and determine all affaires of our warr or peace leagues ayds charges and numbers of men for warr division of spoyles and whatsoever is gotten by conquest receiuing of more Confederats for Plantacons into combinacon with any of the Confederates and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederacon for amytye offence and defence not intermeddleing with the gouernment of any of the Jurisdiccons which by the third Article is presered entirely to themselues. But if these eight Commissioners when they meete shall not all agree yet it is concluded that any six of the eight agreeing shall have power to settle and determine the business in question: But if six do not agree that then such proposicons with their reasons so farr as they have beene debated be sent and referred to the foure generall Courts vizt. the Mattachusetts Plymouth Conectacutt and New Haven: And if at all the said Generall Courts the business so referred be concluded then to bee prosecuted by the Confederates and all their members. It is further agreed that these eight Commissioners shall meete once every yeare besides extraordinary meetings (according to the fift Article) to consider treatate and conclude of all affaires belonging to this Confederacon which meeting shall euer be the first Thursday in September. And that the next meeting after the date of these presents which shalbe accounted the second

meeting shalbe at Bostone in the Massachusetts the third at Hartford the fourth at New Haven the fifth at Plymouth the sixt and seaventh at Boston. And then Hartford New Haven and Plymouth and so in course successiuely, if in the meane tyme some middle place be not found out and agreed on which may be commodious for all the Jurisdiccons.

7. It is further agreed that at eich meeting of these eight Commissioners whether ordinary or extraordinary they or six of them agreeing as before may choose their President out of themselues whose office and worke shalbe to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in the present meeting: but he shalbe invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any businesse or any way cast the Scales otherwise than in the precedent article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed that the Commissioners for this Confederacon hereafter at their meetings whether ordinary or extraordinary as they may have Commission or opertunitie do endeavoure to frame and establish agreements and orders in generall cases of a civill nature wherein all the Plantacons are interessed for preserving peace among themselues and preventing as much as may bee all occasions of warr of differences with others, as about the free and speedy passage of Justice in every Jurisdiccon, to all the Confederats equally as to their owne, receiving those that remoue from one plantacon to another without due certefycats; how all the Jurisdiccons may carry it towards the Indians, that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest warr break in vpon the Confederates through such miscarriage. It is also agreed that if any servant runaway from his master into any other of these confederated Jurisdiccons That in such Case vpon

the Certyficat of one Majestrate in the Jurisdiccon out of which the said servant fled or vpon other due prooffe, the said servant shalbe deliuered either to his Master or any other that pursues and brings such Certificate or prooffe. And that vpon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever or fugitiue for any criminall cause, whether breaking prison or getting from the officer or otherwise escapeing vpon the certificate of two Magistrats of the Jurisdiccon out of which the escape is made, that he was a prisoner or such an offender at the tyme of the escape, The Majestrates or some of them of that Jurisdiction where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth shall forthwith graunt such a warrant as the case will beare for the apprehending of any such person, and the delivery of him into the hands of the officer or other person who pursues him. And if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offendor, then it shalbe graunted to him that craves the same he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest warrs may be of dangerous consequence especially to the smaler plantacons in these vnited Colonies. It is agreed that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connectacutt nor New-Haven, nor any of the members of any of them shall at any tyme hereafter begin undertake or engage themselues or this Confederacon or any part thereof in any warr whatsoever (sudden exegents with the necessary consequents thereof excepted which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit) without the consent and agreement of the forenamed eight Commissioners or at least six of them, as in the sixt Article is provided: And that no charge be required of any of the Confederats in case of a defensiuie warr till the said Commissioners haue mett and approved the justice of the warr; and have agreed vpon the sum of money to be levyed which

sum is then to be payed by the severall Confederates in proporcon according to the fourth Article.

10. That in extraordinary occations when meetings are summoned by three Magistrats of any Jurisdiccon, or two as in the fift Article If any of the Commissioners come not due warneing being given or sent It is agreed that foure of the Commissioners shall have power to direct a warr which cannot be delayed and to send for due proporcons of men out of eich Jurisdiccon, as well as six might doe if all mett; but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war or allow the demaunde or bills of charges or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed that if any of the Confederates shall hereafter break any of these present Articles, or be any other wayes injurious to any one of thother Jurisdiccons, such breach of Agreement, or injurie shalbe duly considered and ordered by the Commissioners for thother jurisdiccons, that both peace and this present Confederacon may be entirely preserued without violacon.

12. Lastly this perpetuall Confederacon and the several Articles and Agreements thereof being read and seriously considered both by the Generall Court for the Massachusetts, and by the Commissioners for Plymouth Conectacutt and New-Haven were fully allowed and confirmed by three of the forenamed Confederates namely the Massachusetts Conectacutt and New-Haven Onely the Commissioners for Plymouth havinge no Commission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their General Court, wherevpon it was agreed and concluded by the said Court of the Massachusetts and the Commissioners for the other two Confederates That if Plymouth Consent, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is and shall continue

firme and stable without alteracon: But if Plymouth come not in, yet the other three Confederates doe by these presents confirme the whole Confederacon and all the Articles thereof: only in September next when the second meeting of the Commissioners is to be at Bostone, new consideration may be taken of the sixt Article which concernes number of Commissioners for meeting and concluding the affaires of this Confederacon to the satisfaccion of the Court of the Massachusetts, and the Commissioners for thother two Confederates but the rest to stand vnquestioned. In testimony whereof the Generall Court of the Massachusetts by their Secretary and the Commissioners for Conectacutt and New-Haven haue subscribed these presente article this xixth of the third month commonly called May Anno Domini 1643.

At a Meeting of the Commissioners for the Confederacon held at Boston the seaventh of September. It appeareing that the Generall Court of New Plymouth and the several Townships thereof have read considered and approoued these articles of Confederacon, as appeareth by Commission from their Generall Court beareing Date the xxixth of August 1643 to Mr. Edward Winslowe and Mr. Will. Collyer to ratify and confirme the same on their behalf wee therefore the Commissioners for the Massachusetts Conecktacutt and New Haven doe also for our seuerall Gouvernments subscribe vnto them.

JOHN WINTHROP Governor Massachusetts	
THO. DUDLEY	THEOPH. EATON
GEO. FENWICK	EDWA. HOPKINS
THOMAS GREGSON.	

The ancient style of spelling is retained in the above articles in order that, so far as modern type can reproduce the venerable document, it may appear before our readers in its original dress. The articles entered into

by the New England Colonies in 1672 were substantially the same as the foregoing.



VI. Declaration of Independence

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitled them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience has shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards

for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise—the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states—for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws—giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states ;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury ;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences ;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the *forms* of our governments ;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our re-

peated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we

mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON,

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

RHODE ISLAND.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

NEW YORK.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

NEW JERSEY.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

DELAWARE.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

MARYLAND.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,

THOMAS STONE, [rollton,
CHARLES CARROLL, of Car

VIRGINIA.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JR.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

GEORGIA.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

V. Thanksgiving Proclamation of Continental Congress

SATURDAY, November 1, 1777.

The committee appointed to prepare a recommendation to the several States to set apart a day of public thanksgiving brought in a report, which was taken into consideration and agreed to as follows:

Forasmuch as it is the indispensable duty of all men to adore the superintending providence of Almighty God, to acknowledge with gratitude their obligations to him for benefits received, and to implore such further blessings as they stand in need of; and it having pleased him in his abundant mercy not only to continue to us the innumerable bounties of his common providence, but also to smile upon us in the prosecution of a just and necessary war for the defense and establishment of our inalienable rights and liberties, particularly in that he hath been pleased in so great a measure to prosper the means used for the support of our troops and to crown our arms with most signal success: it is, therefore, recommended to the legislative powers of these United States, to set apart Thursday, the 18th day of December, for solemn thanksgiving and praise; that with one heart and one voice the good people may express the grateful feelings of their hearts and consecrate themselves to the service of their Divine Benefactor, and that together with their sincere acknowledgments of kind offerings they may join the penitent confession of their manifold sins, whereby they had forfeited every favor, and their humble and earnest supplication, that it may please God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, mercifully to forgive and blot them out of remembrance; that it may please him graciously to afford his blessing on the governments of these States respectively, and prosper the

public councils of the whole; to inspire our commanders both by land and sea, and all under them, with that wisdom and fortitude which may render them fit instruments, under the providence of Almighty God, to secure for these United States the greatest of all blessings—independence and peace; that it may please him to prosper the trade and manufactures of the people and the labor of the husbandman, that our land may yield its increase; to take schools and seminaries of education, so necessary for cultivating the principles of true liberty, virtue, and piety, under his nurturing hand, and to prosper the means of religion for the promotion and enlargement of that kingdom which consisteth in righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.

And it is further recommended that servile labors and such recreations as, thought at other times innocent, may be unbecoming the purpose of this appointment, be omitted on so solemn an occasion.

VI. Presidential Proclamations

THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION

By the President of the United States of America

The First and Last Presidential Proclamations Revealing
the Difference in Christian Conception

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas, It is the duty of all Nations to acknowledge the Providence of Almighty God, to obey His will, to be grateful for His benefits, and humbly to implore His protection and favour; And, whereas, both houses of Congress have, by their Joint Committee, requested me, "To recommend to the People of the *United States* a Day of *Public Thanksgiving and Prayer*, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful Hearts the many Signal Favors of Almighty God, especially in affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a Form of Government for their Safety and Happiness."

Now, *Therefore*, I do recommend and assign *Thursday*, the Twenty Sixth Day of November next, to be devoted by the People of these States, to the Service of that Great and Glorious Being who is the beneficent Author of all the good that was, that is, or that will be. That we may then all unite in tendering unto Him our Sincere and Humble thanks for His kind Care and Protection of the People of this Country previous to their becoming a Nation: for the signal and manifold Mercies, and the Favourable Interpositions of His Providence in the Course and Conclusion of the late War: for the great Degree of Tranquility, Union and Plenty which we have since enjoyed: for the Peaceable and Rational Manner in which we have been enabled to

establish Constitutions of Government for our Safety and Happiness, and particularly the national one now lately instituted: for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge: and in general, for all the great and various Favors which He hath been pleased to confer upon us.

And also, that we may then unite in most humbly offering our Lord and Ruler of Nations, and beseech Him to pardon our National and other Transgressions: to enable us all, whether in public or private Stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually: to render our national Government a Blessing to all the people, by constantly being a government of wise, just and constitutional Laws, directly and faithfully obeyed: to protect and guide all Sovereigns and Nations, (especially such as have shown kindness to us), and to bless them with good Government, Peace and Concord: to promote the Knowledge and Practice of true Religion and Virtue, and the increase of Science among them and us: and generally to grant unto all mankind such a Degree of temporal Prosperity as He alone knows to be best.

Given under my Hand at the City of New York, the third Day of October, in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty Nine.

G. WASHINGTON.

President Cleveland's Thanksgiving Proclamation

President Cleveland's Thanksgiving Proclamation of 1896, adds to the Christian documents of our national history. It will bear the name of its author with ever increasing honor to the generations to come. It is as follows under date of November 4, 1896:

The people of the United States should never be unmindful of the gratitude they owe the God of nations for His watchful care which has shielded them from dire disaster and pointed out to them the way of peace and happiness. Nor should they ever refuse to acknowledge with contrite hearts, their proneness to turn away from God's teachings, and to follow with sinful pride after their own devices.

To the end that these thoughts may be quickened it is fitting that on a day especially appointed, we should join together in approaching the throne of grace with praise and supplication.

Therefore, I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States, do hereby designate and set apart Thursday, the 26th day of the present month of November, to be kept and observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer throughout our land.

On that day let all our people forego their usual work and occupation, and, assembled in their accustomed places of worship, let them, with one accord, render thanks to the Ruler of the Universe for our preservation as a nation, and our deliverance from every threatened danger; for the peace that has dwelt within our boundaries; for our defence against disease and pestilence during the year that has passed; for the plenteous rewards that have followed the labors of our husband-

men, and for all the other blessings that have been vouchsafed to us.

And let us through the mediation of Him who taught us how to pray, implore the forgiveness of our sins and a continuation of heavenly favor.

Let us not forget on this day of thanksgiving the poor and needy, and by deeds of charity let our offerings of praise be made more acceptable in the sight of the Lord.

Witness my hand and seal of the United States, which I have caused to be hereto affixed.

Done at the City of Washington this fourth day of November, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety-Six, and of the independence of the United States of America the One Hundred and Twenty-First.

By the President:

GROVER CLEVELAND

Richard Olney, Secretary of State.

As an indication of the secularist tendencies of the early part of this century a committee of the National Reform Association waited on President Theodore Roosevelt, and asked him to follow the precedent of President Cleveland in this matter. He answered, "I am aware of what Mr. Cleveland did, and I am also aware of the fact that in doing it, he gave offense to many very good citizens." No President has since mentioned the name of our Lord in such proclamation, except in the barely formal expression, "in the year of our Lord."

President Wilson's Proclamation in 1917 for a Day of Prayer During the World War



Whereas, The Congress of the United States, by a concurrent resolution adopted on the fourth day of the present month of October, in view of the entrance of our nation into the vast and awful war which now afflicts the greater part of the world, has requested me to set apart by official proclamation a day upon which our people should be called upon to offer concerted prayer to Almighty

God for His divine aid in the success of our arms;

And, whereas, it behooves a great free people nurtured as we have been in the eternal principles of justice and of right, a nation which has sought from the earliest days of its existence to be obedient to the divine teachings which have inspired it in the exercise of its liberties, to turn always to the Supreme Master and cast themselves in faith at His feet, praying for His aid and succour in every hour of trial, to the end that the great aims to which our fathers dedicated our power as a people, may not perish among men, but be always assisted and defended with fresh ardor and devotion and, through the divine blessing, set at last upon enduring foundations for the benefit of all the free peoples of the earth;

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, gladly responding to the wish ex-

pressed by the Congress, do appoint October 28, being the last Sunday of the present month, as a day of supplication and prayer for all the people of the nation, honestly exhorting all my countrymen to observe the appointed day, according to their several faiths, in solemn prayer that God's blessings may rest upon the high task which is laid upon us, to the end that the cause for which we give our lives and treasures may triumph and and our efforts be blessed with high achievement.



By President Coolidge, 1926

By the President of the United States of America.
A proclamation:

As a nation and as individuals, we have passed another twelve months in the favor of the Almighty. He has smiled upon our fields and they have brought forth plentifully; business has prospered; industries have flourished, and labor has been well employed. While sections of our country have been visited by disaster, we have been spared any great national calamity or pestilential visitation. We are blessed among the nations of the earth.

Our moral and spiritual life has kept measure with our material prosperity. We are not unmindful of the gratitude we owe to God for His watchful guidance which has pointed out to us the ways of peace and happiness; we should not fail in our acknowledgment of his divine favor which has bestowed upon us so many blessings. Neither should we be forgetful of those among us, who, through stress of circumstances, are less fortunately placed, but by deeds of charity make our acknowledgment more acceptable in his sight.

Wherefore, I, Calvin Coolidge, President of the United States, do hereby set apart Thursday, the twenty-fifth day of November, next, as a day of general thanksgiving and prayer, and I recommend that on that day the people shall cease from their daily work, and in their homes or in their accustomed places of worship, devoutly give thanks to the Almighty for the many and great blessings they have received, and seek his guidance that through good deeds and brotherly love they may deserve a continuance of His favor.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand

and caused to be affixed the great seal of the United States.

Done at the City of Washington, this thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord, One Thousand, Nine Hundred and Twenty-Six, and of the independence of the United States, the one hundred and fifty-first.

By the President,

CALVIN COOLIDGE

JOSEPH C. GREW, Acting Secretary of State.



VII. Articles of Confederation

To all to whom these presents shall come, we, the undersigned, delegates of the states affixed to our names, send greeting.

WHEREAS, the delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled, did, on the fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, and in the second year of the independence of America, agree to certain articles of confederation and perpetual Union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in the words following, viz.:

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks

made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship, and intercourse among the people of the different states in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice, excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States or either of them.

If any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ARTICLE 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a

power reserved to each state to recall its delegates or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 6. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty,

confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled for the defence of such state or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well-regulated, and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war

has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 9. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances; pro-

vided, that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures: provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may rise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties, by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the peti-

tioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings, being in either case transmitted to Congress and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:" provided also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil, claimed under different grants of two or more

states, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating postoffices from one state to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated “a committee of the states,” and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States, under their direction—to appoint one of

their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: but if the United States in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot safely be spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

ARTICLE 10. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to

the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE 11. Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ARTICLE 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted, by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE 13. Every state shall abide by the decision of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the legislature of every state.

And whereas it has pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union: *know ye*, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union, and

all and singular the matters and things therein contained; and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent; and that the Union be perpetual.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOSEPH BARTLETT,
JOHN WENTWORTH, JR.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY

JOHN HANCOCK,
SAMUEL ADAMS,
ELBRIDGE GERRY,
FRANCIS DANA,
JAMES LOVELL,
SAMUEL HOLTEN.

RHODE ISLAND

WILLIAM ELLERY,
HENRY MARCHANT,
JOHN COLLINS.

CONNECTICUT

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
OLIVER WOLCOTT,
TITUS HOSMER,
ANDREW ADAMS.

NEW YORK

JAMES DUANE,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
WILLIAM DUER,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

NEW JERSEY

JOHN WITHERSPOON,
NATH. SCUDDER.

PENNSYLVANIA

ROBERT MORRIS,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU,

JONATHAN BAYARD SMITH,
WILLIAM CLINGAN,
JOSEPH REED.

DELAWARE

THOMAS MCKEAN,
JOHN DICKINSON,
NICHOLAS VAN DYKE.

MARYLAND

JOHN HANSON,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA

RICHARD HENRY LEE,
JOHN BANISTER,
THOMAS ADAMS,
JOHN HARVIE,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.

NORTH CAROLINA

JOHN PENN
CONSTABLE HARNETT,
JOHN WILLIAMS.

SOUTH CAROLINA

HENRY LAURENS,
WILLIAM HENRY DRAYTON,
JOHN MATTHEWS,
RICHARD HUTSON
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.

GEORGIA

EDWARD TELFAIR,
JOHN WALTON,
EDWARD LANGWORTHY.

VIII. Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio

Be it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district; subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may in the opinion of Congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the estates both of resident and non resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child, in equal parts; the descendants of a deceased child or grand child to take the share of their deceased parent, in equal parts among them: and where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree; and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate shall have, in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share; and there shall, in no case, be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving in all cases to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one third part of the personal estate; and this law relative to descents and dower, shall remain in full force until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws as herein after mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be (being of full age), and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, or bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered, by the person being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, pro-

vided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers, shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery; saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, Saint Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That there shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by Congress, he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by Congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue in force for four years, unless sooner revoked; he shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office; it shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor in his executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the secretary of Congress: There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein a freehold estate, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their offices; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behavior.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district, such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to Congress, from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by Congress; but afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them as they shall think fit.

The governor for the time being, shall be commander in chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers; all general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by Congress.

Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized, the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof; and he shall proceed from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly; provided that, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on, progressively, with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five; after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature; provided, that no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; provided also, that a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township, for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by congress; any three of whom shall be a

quorum: and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit: As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to congress; five of whom congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid: and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to congress; one of whom congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term: And every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of council, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to congress; five of whom congress shall appoint and commission to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives, shall have authority to make laws, in all cases, for the good government of the district, not repugnant to the principles and articles in this ordinance established and declared. And all bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority in the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no bill or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve, the general assembly, when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity, and of office; the governor before the president of congress,

and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled, in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to congress, who shall have a seat in congress, with a right of debating, but not of voting, during this temporary government.

And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws, and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory; to provide, also, for the establishment of states, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original states, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, That the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact, between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:

ART. 1. No person, demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

ART. 2. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where the proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no

cruel or unusual punishment shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land, and should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with, or affect, private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

ART. 3. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

ART. 4. The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the articles of confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts, contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government, to be apportioned on them by congress, according to the

same common rule and measure by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states; and the taxes for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district or districts, or new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts, or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the United States in congress assembled, nor with any regulations congress may find necessary, for securing the title in such soil, to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States; and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall be common highways, and forever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the United States, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

ART. 5. There shall be formed in the said territory, not less than three, nor more than five states; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established as follows, to wit: the western state in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincents, due north, to the territorial line between the United States and Canada; and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle states shall be bounded by the said district line, the Wabash, from Post Vincents to the Ohio, by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami

to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: provided however, and it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states shall be subject so far to be altered, that, if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan. And whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever, and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government provided the constitution and government, so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles; and, so far as it can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such admission shall be allowed at an earlier period, and when there may be a less number of free inhabitants in the state than sixty thousand.

ART. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: provided always, that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, That the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void. Done, &c.

IX. Constitution of the United States

We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.

The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the

Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island* and *Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments, until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro-tempore, in the absence of the Vice President or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: when sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall

have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time: and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose, or concur with, amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives, and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted), after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevents its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be

approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The Congress shall have power—To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited time to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal,

and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year

eighteen hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *Habeas Corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.

No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing

the obligation of contacts; or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports and exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which

list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officers shall then act as President, and such officers shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "*I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.*"

SECTION II.

The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nomi-

nate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: But the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.

The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts

as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and the treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizen of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State, claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.

Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.

New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any man-

ner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

GO. WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

DELAWARE.

GEORGE REED,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

CONNECTICUT.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATTERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,

Attest :

ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

MARYLAND.

JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THO. JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*.

AMENDMENTS.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in a time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they

shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose, immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President. A quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of the representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of

such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever sources derived, without apportionment among the several states, and without regard to census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided that the legislature of any state may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII.

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

The Congress and the several states have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the

legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX.

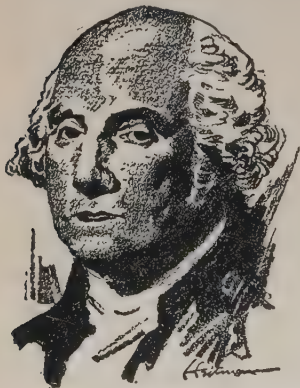
The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state on account of sex. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

Of the AMENDMENTS, the first ten were proposed by the First Congress, in 1789. The eleventh, by the Third Congress, March 4, 1794. The twelfth, by the Eighth Congress, 1803-'5. The thirteenth, by the Thirty-eighth Congress, February 1, 1865, and declared ratified December 18, 1865. The fourteenth, by the Thirty-ninth Congress, June 13, 1866, and declared ratified July 28, 1868. The fifteenth, by the Fortieth Congress, February 26, 1869, and declared ratified March 30, 1870. The sixteenth, by the Sixty-first Congress, and proclaimed February 25, 1913. The seventeenth, by the Sixty-second Congress, and proclaimed May 31, 1913. The eighteenth by the Sixty-fifth Congress, and proclaimed January 29, 1919. The nineteenth, by the Sixty-sixth Congress, and proclaimed August 26, 1920. The majority of these amendments were ratified by the simple two-thirds required by law, but the eighteenth was ratified finally by 46 states.

X. Washington's Farewell Address

SEPTEMBER 17, 1796.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:



The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct

expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom the choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been

much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led me to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea. I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or property; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intention, contributed toward the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that, if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not

permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead—amid appearances sometimes dubious—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and a guaranty of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes that Heaven may continue to you the choicest token of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution which is the work of your hands may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption, of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your

solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of our hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes, and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth—as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any

event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your natural capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together. The independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and success.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally

adapted. The *east*, in like intercourse with the *west*, in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort; and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of the indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest, as one nation. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionately greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations, and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that

the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue of the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*northern* and *southern*, *Atlantic* and *western*; whence designating men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty

with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute. They must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances at all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is, the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. But the consti-

tution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction; to give it an artificial and extraordinary force; to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above descriptions may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government, destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method

of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitutions of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially, that from the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them upon geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissensions, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of the public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight, the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passion. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From the natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that

spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warning, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the other, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern—some of them in our country, and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way in which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness—these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexion with private and public felicity. Let it be simply asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric? Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning

occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential you should practically bear in mind that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects, which is always a choice of difficulties, ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages that might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which enobles human nature. Alas! it is rendered impossible by its vices.

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies

against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in the place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur.

Hence, frequent collisions and obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject. At other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to the projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and the wars of the latter without adequate inducements or justification. It leads, also, to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which are apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and

a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupt, or deluded citizens, who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity, gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation to a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak nation toward a great and powerful one, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war as our interests, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand on foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to ex-

isting engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the stream of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed (in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, to enable the government to support them) conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and natural opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another—that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character—that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not having given more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and the other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe my proclamation of the 22d of April 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail.

I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and constancy which it is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortune.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectations that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoy-

ment of partaking in the midst of my fellow-citizens the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.



XI. President John Adams' Proclamation for a National Fast

MARCH 6, 1799.

As no truth is more clearly taught in the volume of inspiration, nor any more fully demonstrated by the experience of all ages, than that a deep sense and a due acknowledgment of the governing providence of a Supreme Being, and of the accountableness of man to Him as the searcher of hearts and righteous distributor of rewards and punishments, are conducive equally to the happiness and rectitude of individuals and to the well being of communities; as it is, also, most reasonable in itself that men who are made capable of social acts and relations, who owe their improvements to the social state, and who derive their enjoyments from it, should, as a society, make their acknowledgments of dependence and obligation to Him who hath endowed them with these capacities and elevated them in the scale of existence by these distinctions; as it is, likewise, a plain dictate of duty, and a strong sentiment of nature, that in circumstances of great urgency and seasons of imminent danger, earnest and particular supplications should be made to Him who is able to defend or to destroy; as, moreover, the most precious interests of the people of the United States are still held in jeopardy by the hostile designs and insidious acts of a foreign nation, as well as by the dissemination among them of those principles, subversive to the foundations of all religious, moral, and social obligations that have produced incalculable mischief and misery in other countries; and as, in fine, the observance of special seasons for public religious solemnities is happily calculated to avert the evils which we ought to deprecate, and to excite to the performance of the duties which we ought to discharge, by

calling and fixing the attention of the people at large to the momentous truths already recited, by affording opportunity to teach and inculcate them, by animating devotion and giving to it the character of a national act.

For these reasons I have thought proper to recommend, and I do hereby recommend accordingly, that Thursday, the twenty-fifth day of April next, be observed throughout the United States of America as a day of solemn humiliation, fasting, and prayer; that the citizens on that day abstain, as far as may be, from their secular occupation, and devote the time to the sacred duties of religion, in public and in private; that they call to mind our numerous offences against the most high God, confess them before him with the sincerest penitence, implore his pardoning mercy, through the Great Mediator and Redeemer, for our past transgressions, and that, through the grace of His Holy Spirit, we may be disposed and enabled to yield a more suitable obedience to his righteous requisitions in time to come; that he would interpose to arrest the progress of that impiety and licentiousness in principle and practice so offensive to himself and so ruinous to mankind; that he would make us deeply sensible that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but that sin is a reproach to any people;" that he would turn us from our transgressions and turn his displeasure from us; that he would withhold us from unreasonable discontent, from disunion, faction, sedition and insurrection; that he would preserve our country from the desolating sword; that he would save our cities and towns from a repetition of those awful pestilential visitations under which they have lately suffered so severely, and that the health of our inhabitants generally may be precious in his sight; that he would favor us with fruitful seasons, and so bless the labors of the husbandman as that there may be food in abundance for man and beast;

that he would prosper our commerce, manufactures, and fisheries, and give success to the people in all their lawful industry and enterprise; that he would smile on our colleges, academies, schools, and seminaries of learning, and make them nurseries of sound science, morals, and religion; that he would bless all magistrates from the highest to the lowest, give them the true spirit of their station, make them a terror to evil-doers and a praise to them that do well; that he would preside over the councils of the nation at this critical period, enlighten them to a just discernment of the public interest, and save them from mistake, division, and discord; that he would make succeed our preparations for defence, and bless our armaments by land and by sea; that he would put an end to the effusion of human blood and the accumulation of human misery among the contending nations of the earth, by disposing them to justice, to equality, to benevolence, and to peace; and that he would extend the blessings of knowledge, of true liberty, and of pure and undefiled religion throughout the world.

And I do recommend that, with these acts of humiliation, penitence, and prayer, fervent thanksgiving to the Author of all good be united, for the countless favors which he is still continuing to the people of the United States, and which render their condition as a nation eminently happy when compared with the lot of others.

XII. A New Hampshire Thanksgiving Proclamation of 1862

A Proclamation for a Day of Public Thanksgiving and Praise by His Excellency the Governor.

The revolution of the seasons has brought again the period when it is the usage to set apart a day for public thanksgiving to Almighty God. In accordance with a time-honored custom, inaugurated by our forefathers, and so much in harmony with the convictions of all Christian people, I do, by the advice of the Council, appoint Thursday, the 27th of November next, to be observed as a day of thanksgiving and praise. And I hereby invite the people of this State to assemble in their usual places of public worship to join in ascriptions of praise and other devotional exercises so suitable for dependent beings, and of which the many mercies of our heavenly Father, at this time, are so eminently suggestive. Let us all meet to give Him thanks for the bountiful harvest with which He has gladdened the heart of man; for peaceful homes, and the social, educational, and religious privileges vouchsafed to us; for the progress of civil liberty; for the general prevalence of health throughout our borders during the year approaching its close, and in which, notwithstanding the existence of national calamities, there has been much to remind us of his neverfailing mercy and goodness. Let us adore and bless his holy name for that Christian civilization which is our inheritance, and for the many and illustrious examples which came to us with that heavenly boon, of the patience, unfailing confidence, and heroic endurance of a holy ancestry in seasons of affliction and peril. Let us humbly and gratefully thank and praise the Disposer of Events that such examples of reliance upon his providential care have not been lost to succeeding gen-

erations, but are now abundantly developed among a great people, in a year the painful record of which will soon be closed; a year when the patriotism, courage and Christian faith of our fathers have been fully realized in their children, who, disregarding the ties of affection and the comfort of happy firesides, are bravely enduring the perils of camp and the storm of battle, that their country may live, and the cause of good government and free institutions be transmitted to succeeding generations. And, above all, let us praise him for that revelation which brings "life and immortality to light," for the injunctions and promises of that book which for our fathers was the source of reliance and consolation in seasons of disquietude and danger, and which may with equal certainty and efficacy be appropriated by ourselves in this season of doubt and peril. And, while we thank God for his mercies, let not a day so suggestive of good works be permitted to pass without the exercise of those offices of kindness for the needy, which was an injunction of our Divine Redeemer, who published "peace on earth and good will to men."

Given at the Council-Chamber in Concord, this thirty-first day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

NATHANIEL S. BERRY.

By his excellency, the Governor, with the advice of the council.

ALLEN TENNY, *Secretary of State.*

XIII. Resolution of United States Senate in 1863

Resolved, That devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and of nations, and sincerely believing that no people, however great in numbers and resources, or however strong in the justice of their cause, can prosper without his favor, and at the same time deploring the national offences which have provoked his righteous judgment, yet encouraged in this day of trouble by the assurances of his Word, to seek him for succor according to his appointed way, through Jesus Christ, the Senate of the United States do hereby request the President of the United States, by his proclamation, to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation, requesting all the people of the land to suspend their secular pursuits, and unite in keeping the day in solemn communion with the Lord of Hosts, supplicating him to enlighten the councils and direct the policy of the rulers of the nation, and to support all our soldiers, sailors, and marines, and the whole people, in the firm discharge of duty, until the existing rebellion shall be overthrown and the blessings of peace restored to our bleeding country.

XIV. Fast Proclamation by President Lincoln



Whereas the Senate of the United States, devoutly recognizing the supreme authority and just government of Almighty God in all the affairs of men and nations, has, by a resolution, requested the President to designate and set apart a day for national prayer and humiliation; And whereas it is the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence

upon the overruling power of God, to confess their sins and transgressions in humble sorrow, yet with assured hope that genuine repentance will lead to mercy and pardon, and to recognize the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures, and proven by all history, that those nations only are blessed whose God is the Lord; And insomuch as we know that, by his divine law, nations, like individuals, are subjected to punishments and chastisements in this world, may we not justly fear that the awful calamity of civil war, which now desolates the land, may be but a punishment inflicted upon us for our presumptuous sins to the needful end of our national reformation as a whole people? We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of Heaven. We have been preserved, these many years, in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown. But we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace, and multiplied and enriched and strengthened us; and we have vainly imagined, in the

deceitfulness of our hearts, that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own. Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of redeeming and preserving grace, too proud to pray to the God that made us!

It behooves us, then, to humble ourselves before the offended Power, to confess our national sins, and to pray for clemency and forgiveness.

Now, therefore, in compliance with the request and fully concurring in the views of the Senate, I do, by this proclamation, designate and set apart Thursday, the 30th day of April, 1863, as a day of national humiliation, fasting and prayer. And I do hereby request all the people to abstain on that day from their ordinary secular pursuits, and to unite at their several places of public worship and their respective homes in keeping the day holy to the Lord and devoted to the humble discharge of the religious duties proper to that solemn occasion.

All this being done in sincerity and truth, let us then rest humbly in the hope, authorized by the Divine teachings, that the united cry of the nation will be heard on high, and answered with blessings no less than the pardon of our national sins, and restoration of our now divided and suffering country to its former happy condition of unity and peace.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

XV. Lincoln's Second Inaugural

Fellow-Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energy of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this four years ago all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it. All sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to the saving of the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city, seeking to destroy it without war--seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would *make* war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would *accept* war rather than let it perish—and the war came. One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and beneficial interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while

the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude nor the privation which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might close with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces. But let us judge not that we be not judged. The prayer of both could not be answered; that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come, but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we should suppose that American slavery is one of those offences, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a loving God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said: "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the Nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.



XVI. Remarks on Treaty with Tripoli

It may be well in this section to refer more fully to one of the documents of our early history of which the enemies of Christian government have made considerable and to some extent unwarranted use. This document is the Treaty of the United States with Tripoli. Statements are constantly being made as to this treaty which are as incomplete and inaccurate as they are hostile to Christianity. The main facts are: 1. There were two treaties with Tripoli, the first ratified by the Senate June 7, 1797, and the second April 12, 1806. 2. The first of these treaties contains in the 11th article the statement so often quoted, viz., that "the government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion." 3. The treaty of 1797 was terminated by war and that of 1806 took its place. (See *Treaties and Conventions of the United States and other powers*, Washington Edition of 1889, p. 1237.) 4. The clause above quoted from article 11 of the treaty of 1797 was omitted from the treaty of 1806. (See section 14 of latter treaty, corresponding to section 11 of the former treaty, on page 1086 of the volume above cited.) The omission of this clause in the second treaty, ratified in Thomas Jefferson's second administration, is significant. The Christian conscience of the nation condemned the statement and it was therefore expunged. 5. The first treaty was not proclaimed by Washington at all. It was concluded by our representative at Tripoli near the close of Washington's second term, November 6, 1796, but it was not ratified by the Senate until June 7, 1797, nor was it proclaimed until June 10, of that year, over three months after Washington had retired to private life at Mount Vernon. 6. Even the second treaty was long ago terminated by the provision of inter-

national law applying to contracting parties that lose their existence as an independent state, or the internal constitution of which becomes so changed as to render the treaty inapplicable to the new order of things. (See Halleck's International Law, p. 899; Wheaton's International Law, Lawrence's Notes, pp. 471, 472; Vattel's *Droit des Gens*, Paris Ed. of 1863, Vol. II., p. 167.)

7. The true significance of the clause quoted is that the failure of our Constitution to acknowledge God and Christ, led our representative at Tripoli to give a secular definition of our government. That definition was expunged from the treaty because it was an injustice to our Nation, and within ten years after it was formulated. It is time now to authenticate the whole course and sum of the Christian facts of our Nation's life, culminating in the declaration of our Supreme Court that "this is a Christian nation" (see 143 United States reports, p. 457), in the written constitution or the fundamental law on which the whole structure of our government rests. As the positive expression of secularism in the Tripolitan treaty when clearly understood was stricken out, so the fairly implied secularism of our written Constitution, when clearly apprehended by the Nation, will be corrected by the insertion of a suitable Christian Amendment.

Not only must all the facts and documents embodied in the third chapter of this Manual be set over against the original statement of the Tripolitan treaty, but also the latter acts of our government, such as the appropriation to the World's Fair by Congress, conditioned upon the closing of the gates on Sabbath. The overriding of this Congressional enactment by the local authorities at Chicago, shows the imperative need of a constitutional provision authoritatively basing our Government on Christian principles.

XVII

DECISION OF THE
SUPREME COURT *of the* UNITED STATES
IN THE CASE OF
HOLY TRINITY CHURCH
versus
THE UNITED STATES

This church entered into a contract with Rev. E. Walpole Weaver, a citizen of England, by which he was to remove to the city of New York and enter into its service as rector and pastor, and in pursuance of such contract, Weaver did so remove and enter upon such service. It was claimed by the United States that this contract on the part of the plaintiff in error, was forbidden by the act of February 26, 1885, 23 Stat. 332, C. 164, and an action was commenced to recover the penalty prescribed by that act. The Circuit Court held that the contract was within the prohibition of the statute, and rendered judgment accordingly. The case was carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, and the opinion of the Circuit Court was reversed, Mr. Justice Brewer delivering the opinion of the Court. It was held that the title of the act, the evil which was intended to be remedied, the circumstances surrounding the appeal to Congress urging the passage of the act, the reports of the committee of each house, all concur in affirming that the intent of Congress was simply to stay the influx of cheap unskilled labor. The argument of the Court then proceeds as follows:

"But beyond all these matters no purpose of action against religion can be imputed to any legislation, state or national, because this is a religious people. This is historically true. From the discovery of this continent to the present hour, there is a single voice making this affirmation. The commission to Christopher Columbus, prior to his sailing westward, is from Ferdinand and Isabella, by the grace of God, King and Queen of Castile, etc., and recites that it is hoped that by God's assistance some of the continents and islands in the ocean will be discovered, etc. The first colonial grant, that made to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584, was from Elizabeth, by the

grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, queen defender of the faith, etc.; and the grant authorizing him to enact statutes for the government of the proposed colony provided that they be not against the true Christian faith now professed in the Church of England. The first charter of Virginia, granted by King James I, in 1606, after reciting the application of certain parties for a charter, commenced the grant in these words: 'We, greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the Glory of His Divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian Religion to such people, as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages, living in those parts, to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government; Do by these our Letters-Patents, graciously accept of, and agree to, their humble and well-intended desires.'

'Language of similar import may be found in the subsequent charters of that colony, from the same king, in 1609 and 1611; and the same is true of the various charters granted to the other colonies. In language more or less emphatic is the establishment of the Christian religion declared to be one of the purposes of the grant. The celebrated compact made by the Pilgrims in the Mayflower, 1620, recites: 'Having undertaken for the Glory of God, and Advancement of the Christian Faith, and the Honor of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern part of Virginia; Do by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil Body Politick, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid.'

"The fundamental orders of Connecticut, under which a provisional government was instituted in 1638-1639, commence with this declaration: 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased the Almighty God by the wise disposition of His divine providence so to order and dispose of things that we the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the river of Connectecotte and the lands thereunto adjoining; And well-knowing where a people are gathered together the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and union of such a people there should be an orderly and decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affayres of the people at all seasons, as occasion shall require; do therefore associate and conjoyne ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwelth; and do, for ourselves and our Successors and such as shall be adjoynd to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to mayntayne and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospell of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which according to the truth of the said gospell is now practiced amongst us.'

"In the charter of privileges granted by William Penn to the province of Pennsylvania, in 1701, it is recited: 'Because no people can be truly happy, though under the greatest enjoyment of civil liberties, if abridged of the Freedom of their consciences, as to their Religious Profession and Worship; And Almighty God being the only Lord of Conscience, Father of Lights and Spirits; and the Author as well as Object of all divine Knowledge, Faith and Worship, who only doth enlighten the minds, and persuade and convince the understandings of people, I do hereby grant and declare,' etc.

"Coming nearer to the present time, the Declaration

of Independence recognizes the presence of the Divine in human affairs in these words: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

"We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare,' etc.; 'And for the support of this Declaration with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'

"If we examine the constitutions of the various States we find in them a constant recognition of religious obligations. Every constitution of every one of the forty-five States contains language which either directly or by clear implication recognizes a profound reverence for religion and an assumption that its influence in all human affairs is essential to the wellbeing of the community. This recognition may be in the preamble such as is found in the constitution of Illinois, 1870, 'We, the people of the State of Illinois, grateful to Almighty God for the civil, political and religious liberty which He hath so long permitted us to enjoy, and looking to Him for a blessing upon our endeavors to secure and transmit the same unimpaired to succeeding generations,' etc.

"It may be only in the familiar requisition that all officers shall take an oath closing with the declaration, 'So help me God.' It may be in clauses like that of the Constitution of Indiana, 1846, Article XI, Section 4: 'The manner of administering an oath or affirmation shall be such as is most consistent with the conscience

of the deponent, and shall be esteemed a most solemn appeal to God.' Or in provisions such as are found in Articles 36 and 37 of the Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of Maryland, 1867: 'That as it is the duty of every man to worship God in such manner as he thinks most acceptable to Him, all persons are equally entitled to protection in their religious liberty; wherefore, no person ought, by any law, to be molested in his person or estate on account of his religious persuasion or profession, or for his religious practice, unless, under the color of religion, he shall disturb the good order, peace or safety of the State, or shall infringe the laws of morality, or injure others in their natural, civil or religious rights; nor ought any person to be compelled to frequent or maintain or contribute, unless on contract, to maintain any place of worship, or any ministry, nor shall any person, otherwise competent, be deemed incompetent as a witness, or juror, on account of his religious belief: *Provided*, he believes in the existence of God, and that, under His dispensation, such person will be held morally accountable for his acts, and be rewarded or punished therefor, either in this world or the world to come. That no religious test ought ever to be required as a qualification for any office of profit or trust in this State other than a declaration of belief in the existence of God; nor shall the legislature prescribe any other oath of office than the oath prescribed by this Constitution.' Or like that in Articles 2 and 3, of Part 1st of the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780: 'It is the right as well as the duty of all men in society publicly and at stated seasons, to worship the Supreme Being, the Creator and Preserver of the universe.

. . . As the happiness of a people and the good order and preservation of civil government essentially depend upon piety, religion and morality, and as those cannot be

generally diffused through a community but by the institution of the public worship of God and of public instructions in piety, religion and morality; 'Therefore, to promote their happiness and to secure the good order and preservation of their government, the people of this Commonwealth have a right to invest their legislature with power to authorize and require, and the legislature shall from time to time authorize and require, the several towns, parishes, precincts and other bodies—politic or religious societies to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the institution of the public worship of God and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion and morality in all cases where such provision shall not be made voluntarily.' Or in Sections 5 and 14 of Article 7 of the Constitution of Mississippi, 1832: 'No person who denies the being of a God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of this State. . . . Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education, shall forever be encouraged in this State.' Or by Article 22 of the Constitution of Delaware, 1776, which required all officers, besides an oath of allegiance, to make and subscribe the following declaration: 'I, A. B., do profess faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His only Son and in the Holy Ghost, one God, blessed forevermore; and I do acknowledge the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament to be given by divine inspiration.'

"Even the Constitution of the United States, which is supposed to have little touch upon the private life of the individual, contains in the First Amendment a declaration common to the Constitutions of all the States, as follows: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an

establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof,' etc. And also provides in Article I, Section 7, (a provision common to many Constitutions,) that the Executive shall have ten days (Sundays excepted) within which to determine whether he will approve or veto a bill.

"There is no dissonance in these declarations. There is a universal language pervading them all, having one meaning; they affirm and reaffirm that this is a religious nation. These are not individual sayings, declarations of private persons; they are organic utterances, they speak the voice of the entire people.

"While because of a general recognition of this truth the question has seldom been presented to the courts, yet we find that in *Updegraph vs. The Commonwealth*, 11 S. & R. 394, 400, it was decided that, Christianity, general Christianity, is, and always has been, a part of the common law of Pennsylvania; . . . not Christianity with an established Church, and tithes and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men. And in *The People vs. Ruggles*, 8 Johns 290, 294, 295, Chancellor Kent, the great commentator on American law, speaking as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, said: 'The people of this State, in common with the people of this country, profess the general doctrines of Christianity, as the rule of their faith and practice, and to scandalize the author of these doctrines is not only in a religious point of view, extremely impious, but, even in respect to the obligations due to society, is a gross violation of decency and good order . . . The full, equal and undisturbed enjoyment of religious opinion, whatever it may be, and free and decent discussions on any religious subject, is granted and secured, but to revile, with malicious and blasphemous contempt, the religion professed by almost the whole

community, is an abuse of that right. Nor are we bound, by any expression in the Constitution as some have strangely supposed, either not to punish at all, or to punish indiscriminately, the like attacks upon the religion of *Mahomet* or of the Grand *Lama*; and for this plain reason, that the case assumes that we are a Christian people, and the morality of the country is deeply ingrafted upon Christianity, and not upon the doctrines or worship of those impostors.' And in the famous case of *Vidal vs. Girard's Executors*, 2 How. 127, 198, this court, while sustaining the will of Mr. Girard, with its provisions for the creation of a college into which no minister should be permitted to enter, observed: 'It is also said, and truly, that the Christian religion is a part of the common law of Pennsylvania.'

"If we pass beyond these matters to a view of American life as expressed by its laws, its business, its customs and its society, we find everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth. Among other matters note the following: The form of oath universally prevailing, concluding with an appeal to the Almighty; the custom of opening sessions of all deliberative bodies and most conventions with prayer; the prefatory words of all wills, 'In the name of God, Amen;' the laws respecting the observance of the Sabbath with the general cessation of all secular business, and the closing of courts, legislatures, and other similar public assemblies on that day; the churches and church organizations which abound in every city, town and hamlet; the multitude of charitable organizations existing everywhere under Christian auspices; the gigantic missionary associations, with general support, and aiming to establish Christian missions in every quarter of the globe. These, and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation. In the face of all these,

shall it be believed that a Congress of the United States intended to make it a misdemeanor for a church of this country to contract for the services of a Christian minister residing in another nation?

"Suppose in the Congress that passed this act some member had offered a bill which in terms declared that, if any Roman Catholic church in this country should contract with Cardinal Manning to come to this country and enter into its service as pastor and priest; or any Episcopal church should enter into a like contract with Canon Farrar, or any Baptist church should make similar arrangements with Rev. Mr. Spurgeon; any Jewish synagogue with some eminent Rabbi, such contract should be adjudged unlawful and void, and the church making it be subject to prosecution and punishment, can it be believed that it would have received a minute of approving thought or a single vote? Yet it is contended that such was, in effect, the meaning of this statute. The construction invoked cannot be accepted as correct. It is a case where there was presented a definite evil, in view of which the legislature used general terms with the purpose of reaching all phases of that evil, and therefore, unexpectedly, it is developed that the general language thus employed is broad enough to reach cases and acts which the whole history and life of the country affirm could not have been intentionally legislated against. It is the duty of the courts, under those circumstances, to say that, however broad the language of the statute may be, the act, although within the letter, is not within the intention of the legislature, and therefore cannot be within the statute.

"The judgment will be reversed, and the case remanded for further proceedings in accordance with this opinion."

(143 United States Reports, pp. 457-472. February 29, 1892.)

Comments on the Above Decision

This deliverance by the highest judicial authority of our nation, is of such weight as to require notice here. In the case of the Church of the Holy Trinity vs. the United States, decided February 29, 1892, in the Supreme Court, Justice Brewer delivering the opinion of the court, the facts and documents of our national history were reviewed, in much the same manner as in this Manual, in support of the declaration that "no purpose of action against religion can be imputed to any legislation, state or national, because this is a religious people." Quotations are made from colonial charters and compacts, state constitutions, etc., and then the court repeats its deliverance: "There is a universal language pervading them all, having one meaning; they affirm and reaffirm that this is a religious nation. These are not individual sayings, declarations of private persons. They are organic utterances; they speak the voice of the entire people."

This overwhelming argument for our national religion, and in proof that the religion of the nation is Christianity, thus concludes: "If we pass beyond these matters to a view of American life as expressed by its laws, its business, its customs and its society, we find everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth. Among other matters note the following: The form of oath universally prevailing, concluding with an appeal to the Almighty; the custom of opening sessions of all deliberative bodies and most conventions with prayer; the prefatory words of all wills, 'In the name of God, Amen;' the laws respecting the observance of the Sabbath, with the general cessation of all secular business, and the closing of courts, legislatures, and other similar public assemblies on that day; the churches and church organi-

zations existing everywhere under Christian auspices; the gigantic missionary associations with general support, and aiming to establish Christian missions in every quarter of the globe. These, and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation." (United States Reports, Vol. 143, pp. 457-471.)

While our Supreme Court in the above-quoted decision has said incidentally that "this is a Christian nation," and while multitudes of our people also say so, the nation itself has not said so. It speaks directly in its fundamental law, the written Constitution of the United States, in which it proclaims its own character. And in that authoritative instrument there is no acknowledgment of Christ. In that confession of its political and moral character it does not say that it is Christian.

No wonder, then, that infidelity and atheism and all other forms of opposition to Christianity maintain that the written Constitution is on their side. When it does not frankly place the nation for which it speaks on Christ's side, is it at all surprising that infidel and atheistic secularism claim that this nation is not on Christ's side? Horace Greeley said, in the *New York Tribune*, that according to the Constitution, God is not the "source of all power and authority in civil government. The people are such source." Mr. F. E. Abbott, the most intellectual and candid leader the Free Thought School ever had in America, said that no man could be a Christian and consistently follow his Christianity without being on the side of the Christian Amendment.

The claim by infidelity and atheism that the Constitution and Nation are on their side was in the issue for December 28, 1895, of a leading organ of that secular school. Says this representative writer: "The Con-

stitution is a secular Constitution, and nothing can make it a Christian Constitution except an amendment to the Constitution; and there is just where the fight is on." "A Supreme Court decision or legislative act is only a temporary victory, which can be swept away at any time by new decisions and new acts; but a constitutional amendment is permanent, and it actually can make this a Christian state. It is the impression of some that a Supreme Court decision or an act of Congress, or of the President, can make this a Christian state. But this is impossible. Nothing can make this a Christian state, except the Constitution. Ten thousand decisions of the Supreme Court, or ten thousand acts of Congress or the President can't make this a Christian state. They can cause laws to be made and administered as if this were a Christian state; but they cannot change a matter of fact." "The Constitution is the battle ground. Keep God out of the Constitution, make it secular, and some day Supreme Courts and Congresses and Presidents will conform to its requirements."

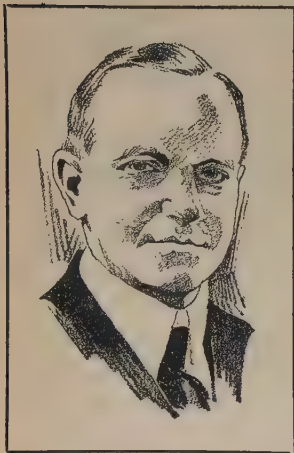
Thus on the one side are infidels, atheists, and the enemies of Christ and His kingdom generally, who follow out their opposition consistently. On the other side are those who follow out their Christianity, and take it with them into every relation of life, the nation and its government and its fundamental law included. Every reader of this Manual must decide which side he will be on. The question has been raised. There is no possibility now of remaining neutral. "He that is not with me" Christ is now saying in this providential issue, "is against me." Every loyal Christian must feel like saying, as old Dr. Stephen H. Tyng said: "I am for God and Christ everywhere—in the home, in society, in the Nation and in its Constitution."

XVIII. President Harding's Hope of a Restored Peace

On his western trip, which proved his last, in 1923, President Warren G. Harding, at Colorado Springs, used the following words:

"I tell you, my countrymen, the world needs more of the Christ; the world needs the spirit of the Man of Nazareth, and if we could bring into the relationships of humanity among ourselves and among the nations of the world the brotherhood that was taught by the Christ, we would have a restored world; we would have little or none of the war, and we would have a new hope for humanity throughout the earth. There never was a greater lesson taught than that of the Golden Rule. I would almost be willing to wipe out the other commandments in its favor."

XIX. President Coolidge on the Value of Religion



President Calvin Coolidge in a message to Dr. James Edward Freeman, on the occasion of the installation of the latter as Episcopal Bishop of Washington, on September 30, 1923, used the following words:

Your work is to be commended because it represents the foundation of all progress, all government, and all civilization. That foundation is religion. Our country is not lacking in material re-

sources, and, though we need more education, it cannot be said to be lacking in intelligence. But certainly it has need of a greater practical application of the truths of religion. It is only in that direction that there is hope of solution of our economic and social problems.

Whatever inspires and strengthens the religious belief and religious activity of the people, whatever ministers to their spiritual life, is of supreme importance. Without it all other efforts will fail. With it there lies the only hope of success. The strength of our country is the strength of its religious convictions.

XX. The Origin of of Our Civic Ideas by President Calvin Coolidge

It was the fact that our Declaration of Independence containing these immortal truths was the political action of a duly authorized and constituted representative public body in its sovereign capacity, supported by the force of general opinion and by the armies of Washington already in the field, which makes it the most important civil document in the world. It was not only the principles declared, but the fact that therewith a new nation was born which was to be founded upon those principles and which from that time forth in its development has actually maintained those principles, that makes this pronouncement an incomparable event in the history of government. It was an assertion that a people had arisen determined to make every necessary sacrifice for the support of these truths and by their practical application bring the war of independence to a successful conclusion, and adopt the Constitution of the United States with all that it has meant to civilization.

The idea that the people have a right to choose their own rulers was not new in political history. It was the foundation of every popular attempt to depose an undesirable King. This right was set out with a good deal of detail by the Dutch, when, as early as July 26, 1581, they declared their independence of Philip of Spain. In their long struggle with the Stuarts, the British people asserted the same principles which finally culminated in the Bill of Rights deposing the last of that house and placing William and Mary on the throne. In each of these cases sovereignty through divine right was displaced by sovereignty through the consent of the people. Running through the same documents though expressed

in different terms is the clear inference of inalienable rights.

But we should search these charters in vain for an assertion of the doctrine of equality. This principle had not before appeared as an official political declaration of any nation. It was profoundly revolutionary. It is of the cornerstones of American institutions.

But if these truths to which the declaration refers have not before been adopted in their combined entirety by national authority, it is a fact that they had been long pondered and often expressed in political speculation. It is generally assumed that French thought had some effect upon our public mind during Revolutionary days. This may have been true. But the principles of our declaration had been under discussion in the colonies for nearly two generations before the advent of the French political philosophy that characterized the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact they come from an earlier date. A very positive echo of what the Dutch had done in 1581, and what the English were preparing to do, appears in the assertion of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, of Connecticut, as early as 1638, when he said in a sermon before the General court that

"The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people.

"The choice of public magistrates belongs to the people by God's own allowance."

PREACHERS OF LIBERTY

This doctrine found wide acceptance among the non-conformist clergy, who later made up the Congregational Church. The great apostle of this movement was the Rev. John Wise, of Massachusetts. He was one of the leaders of the revolt against the Royal Governor Andros, in 1687, for which he suffered imprisonment. He was

a liberal in ecclesiastical controversies. He appears to have been familiar with the writings of the political scientist, Samuel Pufendorf, who was born in Saxony in 1632. Wise published a treatise entitled "The Church's Quarrel Espoused," in 1710, which was amplified in another publication in 1717. In it he dealt with the principles of civil government. His works were reprinted in 1772, and have been declared to have been nothing less than a textbook of liberty for our Revolutionary fathers.

While the written word was the foundation, it is apparent that the spoken word was the vehicle for convincing the people. This came with great force and wide range from the successors of Hooker and Wise. It was carried on with a missionary spirit which did not fail to reach the Scotch-Irish of North Carolina, showing its influence by significantly making that colony the first to give instructions to its delegates looking to independence. This preaching reached the neighborhood of Thomas Jefferson, who acknowledged that his "best ideas of democracy" had been secured at church meetings.

That these ideas were prevalent in Virginia, is further revealed by the Declaration of Rights, which was prepared by George Mason, and presented to the general assembly on May 27, 1776. This document asserted popular sovereignty and inherent natural rights, but confined the doctrine of equality to the assertion that "All men are created equally free and independent." It can scarcely be imagined that Jefferson was unacquainted with what had been done in his own Commonwealth of Virginia, when he took up the task of drafting the Declaration of Independence.

But these thoughts can very largely be traced back to what John Wise was writing in 1710. He said, "Every

man must be acknowledged equal to every man." Again, "The end of all good government is to cultivate humanity, and promote the happiness of all and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, honor, and so forth."

And again, "For as they have a power every man in his natural state, so upon combination they can and do bequeath this power to others and settle it according as their united discretion shall determine." And still again, "Democracy is Christ's government in Church and State." Here was the doctrine of equality, popular sovereignty, and the substance of the theory of inalienable rights clearly asserted by Wise at the opening of the eighteenth century, just as we have the principle of the consent of the governed stated by Hooker, as early as 1638.

RESULT OF RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS

When we take all these circumstances into consideration, it is but natural that the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence should open with a reference to Nature's God, and should close in the final paragraphs with an appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world and an assertion of a firm reliance on Divine Providence. Coming from these sources, having as it did this background, it is no wonder that Samuel Adams could say: "The people seem to recognize this resolution as though it were a decree promulgated from heaven."

No one can examine this record and escape the conclusion that in the great outline of its principles the Declaration was the result of the religious teachings of the preceding period. The profound philosophy which Johnathan Edwards applied to theology, the popular preachings of George Whitefield, had aroused the thought and stirred the people of the Colonies in preparation for

this great event. No doubt the speculations which had been going on in England, and especially on the Continent, lent their influence to the general sentiment of the times.

Of course, the world is always influenced by all the experience and all the thought of the past. But when we come to a contemplation of the immediate conception of the principles of human relationship which went into the Declaration of Independence we are not required to extend our search beyond our own shores. They are found in the texts, the sermons and the writings of the early Colonial clergy who were earnestly undertaking to instruct their congregations in the great mystery of how to live. They preached equality because they believed in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. They justified freedom by the text that we are all created in the divine image, all partakers of the divine spirit.

Placing every man on a plane where he acknowledged no superiors, where no one possessed any right to rule over him, he must inevitably choose his own rulers through a system of self-government. This was their theory of democracy. In those days such doctrines would scarcely have been permitted to flourish and spread in any other country. This was the purpose which the fathers cherished. In order that they might have freedom to express these thoughts and opportunity to put them into action, whole congregations with their pastors had migrated to the Colonies.

"IDEALS MAKE GOVERNMENTS"

If the apprehension of the facts be correct, and the documentary evidence would appear to verify it, then certain conclusions are bound to follow. A spring will cease to flow if its source be dried up: a tree will wither

if its roots be destroyed. In its main features the Declaration of Independence is a great spiritual document. It is a declaration not of material, but of spiritual conceptions. Equality, liberty, popular sovereignty, the rights of man--these are not elements which we can see and touch. They are ideals. They have their source and their roots in the religious convictions. They belong to the unseen world. Unless the faith of the American people in these religious convictions is to endure, the principles of our Declaration will perish. We cannot continue to enjoy the result if we neglect and abandon the cause.

We are too prone to overlook another conclusion. Governments do not make ideals, but ideals make governments. This is both historically and logically true. Of course, the government can help to sustain ideals and can create institutions through which they can be the better observed, but their source by their very nature is in the people. The people have to bear their own responsibilities. There is no method by which that burden can be shifted to the government. It is not the enactment, but the observance of laws, that creates the character of a nation.

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CONCLUSION

It is hoped that the candid reader will find cogent arguments in the chapters of this Manual for the Religious Amendment of the Constitution of the United States. But no argument could be more cogent than the simple facts of this Second Section. In the midst of these Historic Documents stands the National Constitution. All save this one devoutly acknowledge the God who gave us our national being, and who has defended and delivered us in war and blessed us in times of peace. But this one, which, because of its place and influence, more loudly called for some suitable acknowledgment of the King of nations than any of the others, has the unenviable distinction of being without any acknowledgment of our God and Saviour, and has thus become the boast of political atheists. The day of its amendment, that it may correspond with the other documents of this Section, must come, if we are to have the future of a free and righteous, or a true Christian nation.

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ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION

of the

National Reform Association

Believing that Almighty God is the source of all power and authority in civil government, that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Ruler of nations, and that the revealed will of God is of supreme authority in civil affairs;

Remembering that this country was settled by Christian men, with Christian ends in view, and that they gave a distinctly Christian character to the institutions which they established;

Perceiving the subtle and persevering attempts which are made to prohibit the reading of the Bible in our Public Schools, to overthrow our Sabbath laws, to corrupt the Family, to abolish the Oath, Prayer in our National and State Legislatures, Days of Fasting and Thanksgiving, and other Christian features of our institutions, and so to divorce the American Government from all connection with the Christian religion;

Viewing with grave apprehension the corruption of our politics, the legal sanction of the Liquor Traffic, and the disregard of moral and religious character in those who are exalted to high places in the nation;

Believing that a written Constitution ought to contain explicit evidence of the Christian character and purpose of the nation which frames it, and perceiving that the silence of the Constitution of the United States in this respect is used as an argument against all that is Christian in the usage and administration of our Government;

We, citizens of the United States, do associate ourselves under the following ARTICLES, and pledge ourselves to God and to one another to labor, through wise and lawful means, for the ends herein set forth:

ARTICLE I.

This Society shall be called the "NATIONAL REFORM ASSOCIATION."

ARTICLE II.

The objects of this Society shall be to maintain existing Christian features in the American Government; to promote needed reforms in the action of the government touching the Sabbath, the institution of the family, the religious element in education, the oath, and public morality as affected by the liquor traffic and other kindred evils; and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will declare the nation's allegiance to Jesus Christ and its acceptance of the moral laws of the Christian religion, and so indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and

usages of our government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

ARTICLE III.

All persons approving these objects and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be members of this Society.

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of this Association shall be the President, Vice-Presidents, General Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and Treasurer, and such District, Financial, and other Secretaries as may be appointed by the Executive Committee. The Secretaries and Treasurer, with twenty-one other members, shall be the Executive Committee of the Association.

ARTICLE V.

Any Society adopting a Constitution in harmony with the aims of the National Reform Association, and contributing annually to its treasury, shall be recognized as an auxiliary, and all members thereof shall be members of the National Reform Association.

A by-law of the Association provides that any one may become a life-member by the contribution of fifty dollars.

The foregoing Constitution, with the necessary modifications, is recommended by the Executive Committee for adoption by auxiliary societies.

FORMS OF PETITION

Employed by the

National Reform Association

For a Christian Amendment to the United States Constitution.

The undersigned, citizens of the United States, petition your honorable bodies for such an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States as shall suitably express our national acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of all authority in civil government; of the Lord Jesus Christ as the Ruler of nations, and of his revealed will as the supreme standard to decide moral issues in national life, and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of the government on an undeniably legal basis in the fundamental law of the land.

For Christian Declarations in Political Platforms.

The undersigned, who have sympathized and acted with the _____ party, desire that the future platforms of that party shall not fail to contain an acknowledgment of Almighty God as the source of authority and power in civil government, of Christ as the King of all nations, and of the supreme authority of his moral laws; together with declarations favoring the Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, the defense of the Sabbath, the Christian features of our Public Education, and a national Marriage and Divorce law in harmony with the law of Christ.

For a Uniform Divorce Law.

We, the undersigned, citizens of _____, hereby petition your honorable bodies for the passage of such measures as will secure to our nation a uniform divorce law, in accord with the moral law of the Christian religion, and deliver us from the aggravated evils of our present loose and conflicting and unscriptural legislation on this subject.

For Christian Acknowledgment in Thanksgiving Proclamations.

We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States [if to the President, or, of the Commonwealth of _____, if to a State or Territorial Governor], hereby respectfully petition for the distinct acknowledgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Supreme Ruler of our nation, in the proclamation which calls us as a Christian people to the worship of him in whose presence we can find acceptance only through the mediation of the Saviour.

In all petitions to Congress, unless the petition be for a special bill before one of the two Houses, two copies of the petition should be signed by each citizen, one for the Senate and the other for the House of Representatives. Matters will be constantly coming up in our States and in the nation, in reference to which Christian citizens should make use of the right of petition.

The Form of Possible Christian Amendment

Considerable difference of opinion exists as to the form in which the Constitution should be amended in order to make it effectively Christian. By effectively Christian is meant that it shall preserve every historic American Christian feature of civil government; permit the natural ethical development called for by new conditions and at the same time preserve the broad Christian toleration of belief and worship that has ever been the glory of the United States. It is not the purpose of such amendment or those who advocate it that it shall take away even the shadow of any right of any citizen now enjoyed under the constitution, but simply to erect a barrier against the aggressiveness of Atheism, Mormonism or any other form of religion or anti-religion that would seek to subvert the historic American ideal.

First Form

To be inserted in the Preamble to the United States Constitution. We the people (believing in Almighty God as the Creator of the universe and in Jesus Christ as the Supreme Ruler of all nations) in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice (and Christian morality) etc.

Those parts in parenthesis to be added.

Second Form

To be added to the first amendment.

But this article shall never be construed as preventing Congress or any branch of the Federal Government or that of any state, acknowledging their relations to God or using the Bible as an instrument of government in any way consistent with the ends of civil government.

Third Form

A DISTINCT AMENDMENT

As the United States is a Christian Nation, Congress shall never pass any law impairing the rights of any officer of the government to employ the Bible or any religious practice as an instrument of government, and no state shall ever pass any such law. But this shall never be construed as to destroy liberty of conscience and worship which has always been guaranteed to every citizen, nor shall it ever be construed as to allow Congress or the states to establish any ecclesiastical organization.

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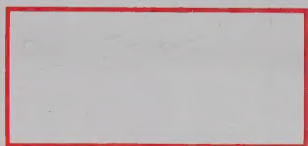
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